THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

FOUNDED BY JAMES LOEB, LL.D.

XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

I

XENOPHON

HELLENICA, BOOKS I—V

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

CARLETON L. BROWNSON
COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
MCMXLVII

First printed, 1918
Reprinted, 1930, 1947

Printed in Great Britain.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The *Hellenica* is Xenophon's history of his own times. Beginning in the autumn of 411 B.C., when the author was probably about twenty years of age, it covers the events of the following fifty years, down to 362 B.C.

The Peloponnesian War, which was primarily a struggle for supremacy between Athens and Sparta but which involved the entire Greek world, began in 431 and ended in 404 B.C. The historian of this war was Thucydides, himself at one time a general on the Athenian side. Thucydides died, however, without completing his task, and it is at the point where his history breaks off that Xenophon begins. The first part of the *Hellenica* accordingly brings the story of the Peloponnesian War to a conclusion (411–404 B.C.); Xenophon then goes on to describe the internal disorders which ensued in Athens (404–401 B.C.); the war undertaken by the Spartans, now the undisputed "leaders of all Hellas," against the Persian Empire (399–387 B.C.); the indecisive contest known as the Corinthian War (394–387 B.C.), in which various Greek states united in an attempt

to curb the growing power of Sparta; the inglorious Peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.), whereby the Persian king assumed to confirm Sparta's title as mistress of the Greek world; the later years of Spartan leadership (387–371 B.C.), marked especially by sometimes harsh, sometimes treacherous, but ultimately futile, efforts to check the rise of Thebes; the humiliation of Sparta and the triumph of Thebes in the battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.); and the following period of Theban supremacy (369–362 B.C.), brought to a close by the battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.), in which the Thebans were victorious but lost their great commander, Epaminondas. The *Hellenica*, then, is the story of Sparta's triumph over her old enemy, Athens, of her day of power, and of her overthrow by a new enemy, Thebes.

A historian who should set himself the task of narrating the events of his own lifetime might naturally be expected to write his history part by part, as time went on, instead of waiting till toward the close of his life to tell the whole story in its entirety. In fact, the investigations of many scholars have shown that the *Hellenica* falls into three main divisions, written at considerable intervals: Part I. (I. i. 1–II. iii. 10), completing Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War; Part II. (II. iii. 11–V. i. 36), from the close of the Peloponnesian War to the Peace of Antalcidas; and Part III. (V. ii. 1–the end), from the Peace of Antalcidas to the battle of Mantinea. The dates of the composition of these

various parts have been approximately fixed as follows: Part I., 393 B.C. or a very little later; Part II., between 385 and 380 B.C.; and Part III., between 362 and 354 B.C.

Xenophon was in many respects admirably fitted to be the historian of the epoch which he describes. An Athenian by birth and training, he was still a citizen of the world. He not only lived for considerable periods in various other states of Greece—Sparta, Elis, and Corinth—but he had become acquainted through personal experience with the Greeks of Asia and with the Persian Empire. In early life he had been a devoted follower of Socrates, while in later years he was an intimate friend of King Agesilaus of Sparta, whom he accompanied on several of the campaigns described in the *Hellenica*. He might have been presumed to possess the temper to write an impartial history and the information and capacity to write an accurate one.

Nevertheless, the *Hellenica* is neither accurate nor impartial. Not that Xenophon is guilty of errors of commission, for from these the *Hellenica* is notably free; but his omissions are so frequent and so considerable that the reader is either sadly puzzled or in many cases is given an utterly wrong impression. Thus, while it is clear that the primary purpose of the *Hellenica* was to complete Thucydides' interrupted narrative, Xenophon is by no means careful to secure precise continuity between the closing chapters of Thucydides and his own opening chapters; and he is

just as little solicitous about securing precise continuity between the different chapters of the *Hellenica* itself; instead, we find him alluding to events as though already described of which he has told us nothing or introducing us without explanation to a personage who is unknown to us. More serious is the fact that some important omissions appear to be intentional and dictated by the author's partiality. He is not prejudiced in favour of Athens because it was his native city, nor yet against Athens because it had banished him. It is between Sparta and Thebes that he cannot hold the scales true. In his ardent admiration for all things Spartan, he excuses Sparta's defeats and fails to mention her humiliations; while in his almost unconcealed hatred toward the Thebans, he puts wrong constructions upon their acts and abridges the record of their achievements.

It is necessary to dwell more upon Xenophon's imperfections as a historian than upon his excellences in order to correct the wrong impression which a reading of the *Hellenica* might otherwise produce. His excellences, however, are not few nor slight. He is clear-sighted, straightforward, and sound in his judgments of men and events; and if he sometimes, especially when his Spartan sympathies are involved, fails to tell the whole truth or opens the way to wrong inferences, he still is never guilty of direct misstatement. His narrative, often plain to the point of bareness, possesses the great merits of clearness, directness, and entire freedom from exaggeration or

a striving after effect; and his style is not only characterized at all times by grace and ease, but not infrequently by beauty and power. All in all, his history is much the best authority we have for the half century which it covers.[1]

[1] The other more important authorities for the history of this period are: (1) Diodorus Siculus, who lived during the age of Augustus and compiled from various sources a rhetorical and uncritical history of the world (Books XIII.–XV. treating of the period covered by the *Hellenica*); and (2) Plutarch, in his lives of Alcibiades, Lysander, Agesilaus, Pelopidas, and Artaxerxes. Aristotle, in his *Constitution of the Athenians*, and Lysias, in two orations dealing with the rule of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, contribute additional information of great value to supplement the earlier portion of Xenophon's narrative.

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

1.—Manuscripts

Among the numerous MSS. of the *Hellenica* six are generally recognized as of superior excellence, and are ranked in the following order:—

B. Parisinus 1738, in the National Library at Paris, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century.
M. Ambrosianus A 4, at Milan, dated 1344.
D. Parisinus 1642, in the National Library at Paris, of the fifteenth century.
V. Marcianus 368, in the Library of St. Mark at Venice, written in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.
C. Parisinus 2080, in the National Library at Paris, dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century.
F. Perizonianus 6, in the Library of the University of Leyden, dated 1456.

A recently discovered papyrus fragment, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna and assigned to the third century A.D., has been found valuable in confirming the readings of the best MS., B, and in preserving correct spellings where the MSS. are in error. It includes portions of the first book, and is designated Π.

2.—Principal Editions

(a) *Complete Works of Xenophon.*

Junta: Florence, 1516. *Editio Princeps.* By E. Boninus.
Junta: Florence, 1527. Second edition, per Haeredes P. Juntae.
Aldus: Venice, 1525. By F. Asulanus.
Stephanus, H.: Geneva, 1561, 2 vols.
Stephanus, H.: Geneva, 1581. Second edition.
Leunclavius, J.: Frankfort, 1594, 2 vols.

SAUPPE, G.: Leipzig (Tauchnitz), 1865–7 (new edition, 1867–70), 5 vols.
MARCHANT, E. C.: Oxford, 1900—, 5 vols., of which 4 have thus far appeared.

DAKYNS, H. G.: London, 1890—, 4 vols., of which 3 have appeared. English Translation of Xenophon.

(*b*) *Separate Editions of the Hellenica.*

ALDUS: Venice, 1502. *Editio Princeps* of the *Hellenica.*
DINDORF, L.: Oxford, 1853.
COBET, C. G.: Amsterdam, 1862 (second edition, Leyden. 1880).
BÜCHSENSCHÜTZ, B.: Leipzig (Teubner), 1860–91, 2 vols.
KURZ, E.: Munich, 1873–4, 2 vols.
BREITENBACH, L.: Berlin (Weidmann), 1873–84, 3 vols.
GROSSER, R.: Gotha (Perthes), 1885–93, 3 vols.
KELLER, O.: Leipzig (Teubner), 1890. Editio major. The best critical edition.
KELLER, O.: Editio minor (Teubner text), 1890.
SOROF, F. G.: Leipzig, 1899–1901. Selections.
MANATT, I. J.: Boston, 1888. Books I–IV.
BENNETT, C. E.: Boston, 1892. Books V–VII.
BLAKE, R. W.: Boston, 1894–6. Books I–II.
UNDERHILL, G. E.: Oxford, 1900. A Commentary (to accompany the text of Marchant).
BROWNSON, C. L.: New York, 1908. Selections.

The present edition adopts the text of Keller, all departures therefrom, as well as important emendations made or accepted by Keller, being mentioned in the critical notes.

XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

BOOK I

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ

Α

I. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον
ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Θυμοχάρης ἔχων ναῦς ὀλίγας·
καὶ εὐθὺς ἐναυμάχησαν αὖθις Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ
Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνίκησαν δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγουμένου
Ἀγησανδρίδου.
2 Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τούτων[1] Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρου
ἐκ Ῥόδου εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον εἰσέπλει ἀρχομένου
χειμῶνος τέτταρσι καὶ δέκα ναυσὶν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ.
κατιδὼν δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡμεροσκόπος ἐσήμηνε
τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀνηγάγοντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν
εἴκοσι ναυσίν, ἃς ὁ Δωριεὺς φυγὼν πρὸς τὴν γῆν
ἀνεβίβαζε τὰς αὑτοῦ τριήρεις, ὡς ἤνοιγε,[2] περὶ τὸ
3 Ῥοίτειον. ἐγγὺς δὲ γενομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων
ἐμάχοντο ἀπό τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς, μέχρι οἱ
Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Μάδυτον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο
στρατόπεδον οὐδὲν πράξαντες.
4 Μίνδαρος δὲ κατιδὼν τὴν μάχην ἐν Ἰλίῳ
θύων τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ
καθελκύσας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τριήρεις ἀπέπλει, ὅπως
5 ἀναλάβοι τὰς μετὰ Δωριέως. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι

[1] τούτων MSS.: Keller brackets.
[2] ἤνοιγε MSS.: ἤνυτε Kel.

XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

BOOK I

I. AFTER this,[1] not many days later, Thymochares came from Athens with a few ships; and thereupon the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians fought another naval battle, and the Lacedaemonians were victorious, under the leadership of Agesandridas. 411 B.C.

Shortly after this, at the beginning of the winter, Dorieus, the son of Diagoras, sailed into the Hellespont from Rhodes with fourteen ships, arriving at daybreak. And when the Athenian day-watcher descried him, he signalled to the generals, and they put out against him with twenty ships; and Dorieus, fleeing from them towards the shore, beached his triremes, as fast as he got them clear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Rhoeteum. And when the Athenians came near, the men under Dorieus fought, from their ships and from the shore, until the Athenians sailed away to Madytus, to the rest of their fleet, without having accomplished anything.

Now Mindarus caught sight of the battle as he was sacrificing to Athena at Ilium, and hurrying to the sea he launched his triremes and set out, in order to pick up the ships under Dorieus. And

[1] *i.e.* after the last events described by Thucydides. The scene is the Hellespont.

ἀνταναγαγόμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν περὶ Ἄβυδον κατὰ
τὴν ᾐόνα μέχρι δείλης ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ.[1] καὶ τὰ μὲν
νικώντων, τὰ δὲ νικωμένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπεισ-
6 πλεῖ δυοῖν δεούσαις εἴκοσι ναυσίν. ἐντεῦθεν
δὲ φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν
Ἄβυδον· καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος παρεβοήθει, καὶ
ἐπεισβαίνων τῷ ἵππῳ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν μέχρι
δυνατὸν ἦν ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὑτοῦ
7 ἱππεῦσι καὶ πεζοῖς παρεκελεύετο. συμφρά-
ξαντες δὲ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ παρα-
ταξάμενοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐμάχοντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ
ἀπέπλευσαν, τριάκοντα ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων λα-
βόντες κενὰς καὶ ἃς αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν κομισάμενοι,
8 εἰς Σηστόν. ἐντεῦθεν πλὴν τετταράκοντα νεῶν
ἄλλαι ἄλλῃ ᾤχοντο ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν ἔξω τοῦ
Ἑλλησπόντου· καὶ ὁ Θράσυλλος, εἷς ὢν τῶν
στρατηγῶν, εἰς Ἀθήνας ἔπλευσε ταῦτα ἐξαγγελῶν
καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ ναῦς αἰτήσων.

9 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης ἦλθεν εἰς Ἑλλή-
σποντον· ἀφικόμενον δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν μιᾷ τριήρει
Ἀλκιβιάδην ξένιά τε καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντα συλλαβὼν
εἷρξεν ἐν Σάρδεσι, φάσκων κελεύειν βασιλέα
10 πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις. ἡμέραις δὲ τριάκοντα
ὕστερον Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ Μαντιθέου
τοῦ ἁλόντος ἐν Καρίᾳ ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες
νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Κλαζομενάς.

11 Οἱ δ' ἐν Σηστῷ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι Μίν-
δαρον πλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μέλλοντα ναυσὶν ἑξή-

[1] ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ MSS.: Kel. brackets.

the Athenians set out against him and did battle, 411 B.C.
along the strand near Abydus, from morning till late afternoon. They were at some points victorious and at others defeated, when Alcibiades sailed into the Hellespont to their support, with eighteen ships. Thereupon the Peloponnesians took to flight in the direction of Abydus; and Pharnabazus came along the shore to their aid, and riding his horse into the sea as far as possible, bore a share in the fighting and cheered on his followers, cavalry and infantry. Meanwhile the Peloponnesians made a barrier of their ships and marshalled themselves on the shore and fought. At length the Athenians sailed away to Sestus after capturing thirty of the enemy's ships, though without their crews, and recovering those which they had previously lost themselves. From Sestus all but forty of their ships went off in different directions, outside the Hellespont, to collect money; and Thrasyllus, who was one of the generals, set sail for Athens to report these events and to ask for troops and ships.

After this Tissaphernes came to the Hellespont; and when Alcibiades with a single trireme went to visit him, bearing friendly offerings and gifts, Tissaphernes seized him and imprisoned him in Sardis, saying that the King ordered him to make war upon the Athenians. Thirty days later, however, Alcibiades, together with Mantitheus, who had been taken prisoner in Caria, provided themselves with horses and made their escape from Sardis by night to Clazomenae.

Meanwhile the Athenians at Sestus, learning that 410 B.C.
Mindarus was planning to sail against them with

κοντα, νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Καρδίαν. ἐνταῦθα
δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἧκεν ἐκ τῶν Κλαζομενῶν
σὺν πέντε τριήρεσι καὶ ἐπακτρίδι. πυθόμενος
δὲ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐξ Ἀβύδου
ἀνηγμέναι εἶεν εἰς Κύζικον, αὐτὸς μὲν πεζῇ ἦλθεν
εἰς Σηστόν, τὰς δὲ ναῦς περιπλεῖν ἐκεῖσε ἐκέ-
12 λευσεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον, ἀνάγεσθαι ἤδη αὐτοῦ
μέλλοντος ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐπεισπλεῖ Θηρα-
μένης εἴκοσι ναυσὶν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ
Θρασύβουλος εἴκοσιν ἑτέραις ἐκ Θάσου, ἀμφό-
13 τεροι ἠργυρολογηκότες. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ εἰπὼν
καὶ τούτοις διώκειν αὐτὸν ἐξελομένοις τὰ μεγάλα
ἱστία αὐτὸς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πάριον· ἁθρόαι δὲ
γενόμεναι αἱ νῆες ἅπασαι ἐν Παρίῳ ἓξ καὶ ὀγδοή-
κοντα τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀνηγάγοντο, καὶ τῇ
ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ ἀρίστου ὥραν ἧκον εἰς Προκόν-
14 νησον. ἐκεῖ δ' ἐπύθοντο ὅτι Μίνδαρος ἐν Κυζίκῳ
εἴη καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ταύτην μὲν
οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ
Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσας παρεκελεύετο
αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἴη καὶ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πεζο-
μαχεῖν καὶ τειχομαχεῖν· Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, ἔφη,
χρήματα ἡμῖν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ἄφθονα παρὰ
15 βασιλέως. τῇ δὲ προτεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ὡρμίσαντο,
τὰ πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ συνήθροισε παρ'
ἑαυτόν, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐξαγγείλαι τοῖς πολεμίοις
τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ἐπεκήρυξέ τε, ὃς ἂν ἁλί-
σκηται εἰς τὸ πέραν διαπλέων, θάνατον τὴν
16 ζημίαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρασκευασά-

sixty ships, withdrew by night to Cardia. There 410 B.C.
Alcibiades joined them, coming from Clazomenae with five triremes and a dispatch boat. But upon learning that the Peloponnesian ships had set out from Abydus to Cyzicus, he proceeded overland to Sestus and gave orders that the ships should sail around to that place. When they had arrived there and he was on the point of putting out to sea for battle, Theramenes sailed in from Macedonia with a reinforcement of twenty ships, and at the same time Thrasybulus arrived from Thasos with twenty more, both of them having been engaged in collecting money. And after bidding them also to follow after him when they had removed their cruising sails,[1] Alcibiades set off with his own ships to Parium; and when all the ships had come together at Parium, to the number of eighty-six, they set sail during the ensuing night, and on the next day at breakfast time arrived at Proconnesus. There they learned that Mindarus was at Cyzicus, and also Pharnabazus with his army. Accordingly they remained that day at Proconnesus, but on the following day Alcibiades called an assembly of his men and told them that they must needs fight at sea, fight on land, and fight against fortresses. "For we," he said, "have no money, but the enemy have an abundance of it from the King." Now on the preceding day, when they had come to anchor, Alcibiades had taken into his custody all the vessels in the harbour, even the small ones, in order that no one should report to the enemy the size of his fleet, and he made proclamation that death would be the punishment of any one who was caught sailing across to the other side of the strait. And after the assembly he made preparations for battle and, in the

[1] Thus "clearing for action."

μενος ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν
Κύζικον ὕοντος πολλῷ. ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἐγγὺς τῆς
Κυζίκου ἦν, αἰθρίας γενομένης καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου
ἐκλάμψαντος καθορᾷ τὰς τοῦ Μινδάρου ναῦς
γυμναζομένας πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἀπει-
17 λημμένας ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἑξήκοντα οὔσας. οἱ δὲ
Πελοποννήσιοι, ἰδόντες τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριή-
ρεις οὔσας πλείους τε πολλῷ ἢ πρότερον καὶ
πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν γῆν· καὶ συνορ-
μίσαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐμάχοντο ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς
18 ἐναντίοις. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν
περιπλεύσας ἀπέβη εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Μίν-
δαρος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ μαχόμενος
ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον. τὰς
δὲ ναῦς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ᾤχοντο ἄγοντες ἁπάσας εἰς
Προκόννησον πλὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων· ἐκείνας δὲ
αὐτοὶ κατέκαυσαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι.
Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλεον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
19 ἐπὶ Κύζικον. οἱ δὲ Κυζικηνοὶ τῶν Πελοπον-
νησίων καὶ Φαρναβάζου ἐκλιπόντων αὐτὴν ἐδέ-
20 χοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ μείνας
αὐτοῦ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ λαβὼν
παρὰ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν ἐργασά-
μενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Προκόννησον.
ἐκεῖθεν δ᾽ ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυμβρίαν.
21 καὶ Περίνθιοι μὲν εἰσεδέξαντο εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὸ
στρατόπεδον· Σηλυμβριανοὶ δὲ ἐδέξαντο μὲν οὔ,
22 χρήματα δὲ ἔδοσαν. ἐντεῦθεν δ᾽ ἀφικόμενοι τῆς
Καλχηδονίας εἰς Χρυσόπολιν ἐτείχισαν αὐτήν,
καὶ δεκατευτήριον κατεσκεύασαν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ
τὴν δεκάτην ἐξέλεγον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοίων

midst of a heavy rain, set out for Cyzicus. When he 410 B.C. was near Cyzicus, the weather cleared and the sun came out, and he sighted the ships under Mindarus, sixty in number, engaged in practice at some distance from the harbour and already cut off from it by his own fleet. But the Peloponnesians, when they saw that the Athenian triremes were far more numerous than before and were near the harbour, fled to the shore; and mooring their ships together, they fought with their adversaries as they sailed down upon them. Alcibiades, however, with twenty of his ships sailed round the fleets and landed on the shore. When Mindarus saw this, he also landed, and fell fighting on the shore; and those who were with him fled. And the Athenians took away with them to Proconnesus all the Peloponnesian ships, except those of the Syracusans; for these were burned by their own crews.

From Proconnesus the Athenians sailed on the next day against Cyzicus; and the Cyzicenes admitted them, inasmuch as the Peloponnesians and Pharnabazus had evacuated the city. There Alcibiades remained for twenty days, and after obtaining a great deal of money from the Cyzicenes, but without doing any further harm in the city, sailed back to Proconnesus. From there he sailed to Perinthus and Selymbria. And the Perinthians admitted the Athenian forces to their city, and the Selymbrians, while not admitting them, gave them money. From there they proceeded to Chrysopolis, in Calchedonia, and fortified it, established a custom house in the city, and proceeded to collect the tithe-duty from vessels sailing out of the Pontus[1]; they also left there

[1] *i.e.* a tax of ten per cent. on all goods passing out through the Bosporus.

καὶ φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ναῦς τριάκοντα καὶ στρατηγὼ δύο, Θηραμένην καὶ Εὔμαχον, τοῦ τε χωρίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεόντων πλοίων καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο δύναιντο βλάπτειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ᾤχοντο.

23 Παρὰ δὲ Ἱπποκράτους τοῦ Μινδάρου ἐπιστολέως εἰς Λακεδαίμονα γράμματα πεμφθέντα ἑάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας λέγοντα τάδε· Ἔρρει τὰ κᾶλα. Μίνδαρος ἀπεσσύα. πεινῶντι τὤνδρες.
24 ἀπορίομες τί χρὴ δρᾶν. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ παντὶ τῷ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατεύματι καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις παρακελευσάμενος μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἕνεκα ξύλων, ὡς ὄντων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλέως, ἕως ἂν τὰ σώματα σῶα ᾖ, ἱμάτιόν τ' ἔδωκεν ἑκάστῳ καὶ ἐφόδιον δυοῖν μηνοῖν, καὶ ὁπλίσας τοὺς ναύτας φύλακας κατέστησε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παραθαλαττίας
25 γῆς. καὶ συγκαλέσας τούς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐκέλευε ναυπηγεῖσθαι τριήρεις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ὅσας ἕκαστοι ἀπώλεσαν, χρήματά τε διδοὺς καὶ ὕλην ἐκ τῆς Ἴδης
26 κομίζεσθαι φράζων. ναυπηγουμένων δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἅμα τοῖς Ἀντανδρίοις τοῦ τείχους τι ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἤρεσαν πάντων μάλιστα. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτεία Συρακοσίοις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐστί. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διατάξας εὐθὺς εἰς Καλχηδόνα ἐβοήθει.

27 Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἠγγέλθη τοῖς τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατηγοῖς οἴκοθεν ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. συγκαλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρα-

as a garrison thirty ships and two of the generals, 410 B.C.
Theramenes and Eumachus, to have charge of the fort, to attend to the outgoing ships, and to harm the enemy in any other way they could. The other generals returned to the Hellespont.

Meanwhile a letter dispatched to Lacedaemon by Hippocrates, vice-admiral under Mindarus, was intercepted and taken to Athens; it ran as follows: "The ships are gone. Mindarus is dead. The men are starving. We know not what to do." Pharnabazus, however, urged the whole Peloponnesian army and their allies not to be discouraged over a matter of ship-timber—for he said there was plenty of that in the King's land—so long as their bodies were safe; and he not only gave to each man a cloak and subsistence for two months, but he also armed the sailors and set them as guards over his own coast-line. Furthermore, calling together the generals and ship-captains from the various states, he bade them build triremes at Antandrus to equal the number which they had severally lost, giving them money for the purpose and telling them to get timber from Mount Ida. And while the ship-building was going on, the Syracusans helped the Antandrians to finish a portion of their wall, and in the garrison-duty made themselves most popular. For this reason the Syracusans now enjoy at Antandrus the privileges of benefactors and citizens. As for Pharnabazus, after making these arrangements he went at once to the relief of Calchedon.

At this time word came from home to the Syracusan generals that they had been banished by the democratic party.[1] Accordingly they called together their

[1] The generals being of the oligarchical party in Syracuse.

τιώτας Ἑρμοκράτους προηγοροῦντος ἀπωλοφύ-
ροντο τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμφοράν, ὡς ἀδίκως φεύγοιεν
ἅπαντες παρὰ τὸν νόμον· παρῄνεσάν τε προθύ-
μους εἶναι καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ
ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἀεὶ παραγγελλόμενα,
ἑλέσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευον ἄρχοντας, μέχρι ἂν ἀφί-
28 κωνται οἱ ᾑρημένοι ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνων. οἱ δ᾽ ἀναβοή-
σαντες ἐκέλευον ἐκείνους ἄρχειν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ
τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνῆται.
οἱ δ᾽ οὐκ ἔφασαν δεῖν στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυ-
τῶν πόλιν· εἰ δέ τις ἐπικαλοίη τι αὐτοῖς, λόγον
ἔφασαν χρῆναι διδόναι, μεμνημένους ὅσας τε
ναυμαχίας αὐτοὶ καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς νενικήκατε καὶ
ναῦς εἰλήφατε, ὅσα τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀήττητοι
γεγόνατε ἡμῶν ἡγουμένων, τάξιν ἔχοντες τὴν
κρατίστην διά τε τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ
τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ
29 θάλατταν ὑπάρχουσαν.[1] οὐδενὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαι-
τιωμένου, δεομένων ἔμειναν, ἕως ἀφίκοντο οἱ ἀντ᾽
ἐκείνων στρατηγοί, Δήμαρχός τ᾽ Ἐπικύδου καὶ
Μύσκων Μενεκράτους καὶ Πόταμις Γνώσιος. τῶν
δὲ τριηράρχων ὀμόσαντες οἱ πλεῖστοι κατάξειν
αὐτούς, ἐπὰν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀφίκωνται, ἀπεπέμ-
30 ψαντο ὅποι ἐβούλοντο πάντας ἐπαινοῦντες· ἰδίᾳ
δὲ οἱ πρὸς Ἑρμοκράτην προσομιλοῦντες μάλιστα
ἐπόθησαν τήν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ
κοινότητα. ὧν γὰρ ἐγίγνωσκε τοὺς ἐπιεικεστά-

[1] §§ 27, 28 as the MSS.: Kel. inserts μεμνημένους . . . ὑπάρχουσαν after παραγγελλόμενα.

soldiers and, through Hermocrates as spokesman, 410 B.C.
lamented their misfortune in being unjustly and illegally banished, all without exception. They urged their soldiers to continue zealous in the future, as they had been in the past, and to be true men in obeying every order; and they directed them to choose new commanders, to hold office until those who had been chosen to fill their places should arrive from Syracuse. The men, however, and particularly the captains and marines and steersmen, set up a shout at this and bade the generals remain in command. They replied that they ought not to indulge in partizan opposition to their own government. "But if anyone," they said, "has any charge to bring against us, you should give us a hearing, remembering how many naval battles you have won and how many ships you have captured when fighting by yourselves, and how often when associated with others you have proved yourselves invincible under our leadership, occupying the most honourable post in the line of battle on account of our skill and your own zealous spirit, exhibited both on land and sea." But when no one brought any charge against them, at the request of the troops they remained until their successors arrived,—Demarchus, the son of Epicydes, Myskon, the son of Menecrates, and Potamis, the son of Gnosis. Then, after most of the captains had taken oath that, when they returned to Syracuse, they would bring their generals back from exile, they sped them on their ways, commending them all; but in particular those who had associated with Hermocrates felt exceedingly the loss of his care and enthusiasm and democratic spirit. For the best of those whose acquaintance he

τους καὶ τριηράρχων καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἐπιβατῶν, ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πρῴ καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν συναλίζων πρὸς τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνεκοινοῦτο ὅ τι ἔμελλεν ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν, κἀκείνους ἐδίδασκε κελεύων λέγειν τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ

31 τοῦ παραχρῆμα, τὰ δὲ βουλευσαμένους. ἐκ τούτων Ἑρμοκράτης τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ηὐδόξει, λέγειν τε δοκῶν καὶ βουλεύειν τὰ κράτιστα. κατηγορήσας[1] δὲ Τισσαφέρνους ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ἑρμοκράτης, μαρτυροῦντος καὶ Ἀστυόχου, καὶ δόξας τὰ ὄντα λέγειν, ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Φαρνάβαζον, πρὶν αἰτῆσαι χρήματα λαβών, παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας κάθοδον ξένους τε καὶ τριήρεις. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἧκον οἱ διάδοχοι τῶν Συρακοσίων εἰς Μίλητον καὶ παρέλαβον τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα.

32 Ἐν Θάσῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον στάσεως γενομένης ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ λακωνισταὶ καὶ ὁ Λάκων ἁρμοστὴς Ἐτεόνικος. καταιτιαθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι σὺν Τισσαφέρνει Πασιππίδας ὁ Λάκων ἔφυγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ναυτικόν, ὃ ἐκεῖνος ἠθροίκει ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐξεπέμφθη Κρατησιππίδας, καὶ παρέλαβεν ἐν Χίῳ.

33 Περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Θρασύλλου ἐν Ἀθήναις ὄντος Ἆγις ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας προνομὴν ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη ἦλθε τῶν Ἀθηναίων·[2] Θράσυλλος δὲ ἐξαγαγὼν Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντας ἅπαντας παρέταξε παρὰ τὸ Λύκειον,[3] ὡς μαχούμενος, ἂν

[1] κατηγορήσας . . . τριήρεις MSS.: Kel. brackets.

[2] τῶν Ἀθηναίων MSS.: Kel. brackets.

[3] After Λύκειον the MSS. have γυμνάσιον: Kel. brackets.

made, both captains and steersmen and marines, he used to gather every day in the morning and at evening to his own tent, where he communicated to them whatever he was planning to say or to do; he instructed them also, sometimes directing them to speak *ex tempore* and sometimes after deliberation. As a result of this Hermocrates enjoyed the greatest reputation in the general council, and was thought superior to all others as speaker and adviser. He now went to visit Pharnabazus; and since he had once brought an accusation against Tissaphernes at Lacedaemon, in which Astyochus supported him as witness, and had been adjudged to speak the truth, he received money from Pharnabazus before he asked for it, and busied himself with collecting mercenaries and triremes with a view to his restoration to Syracuse. Meanwhile the Syracusans who succeeded the banished generals arrived at Miletus and took over the ships and the troops. 410 B.C.

At about this time a revolution took place in Thasos, and the partisans of Lacedaemon and the Laconian governor Eteonicus were driven out of the island. And Pasippidas the Laconian, who was accused of having managed this intrigue, in collusion with Tissaphernes, was banished from Sparta, while Cratesippidas was sent out to the fleet which Pasippidas had collected from the allies, and assumed command of it at Chios.

During these days also, and while Thrasyllus was in Athens, Agis made a raid from Decelea up to the very walls of the city; and Thrasyllus led forth the Athenians and all others who were in the city and marshalled them beside the Lyceum,[1] with the intention of engaging the enemy if they approached.

[1] A gymnasium outside the walls.

34 προσίωσιν. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα Ἆγις ἀπήγαγε ταχέως,
καί τινες αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν
ψιλῶν ἀπέθανον. οἱ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Θρασύλλῳ
διὰ ταῦτα ἔτι προθυμότεροι ἦσαν ἐφ' ἃ ἧκε, καὶ
ἐψηφίσαντο ὁπλίτας τε αὐτὸν καταλέξασθαι χι-
λίους, ἱππέας δὲ ἑκατόν, τριήρεις δὲ πεντήκοντα.
35 Ἆγις δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας[1] ἰδὼν πλοῖα πολλὰ
σίτου εἰς Πειραιᾶ καταθέοντα, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔφη
εἶναι τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον Ἀθη-
ναίους εἴργειν τῆς γῆς, εἰ μή τις σχήσοι καὶ ὅθεν
ὁ κατὰ θάλατταν σῖτος φοιτᾷ· κράτιστόν τε εἶναι
καὶ[2] Κλέαρχον τὸν Ῥαμφίου πρόξενον ὄντα Βυ-
ζαντίων πέμψαι εἰς Καλχηδόνα τε καὶ Βυζάντιον.
36 δόξαντος δὲ τούτου, πληρωθεισῶν νεῶν ἔκ τε
Μεγάρων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πεντε-
καίδεκα στρατιωτίδων μᾶλλον ἢ ταχειῶν ᾤχετο.
καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν τρεῖς ἀπόλλυνται ἐν τῷ
Ἑλλησπόντῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐννέα νεῶν, αἳ
ἀεὶ ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλοῖα διεφύλαττον, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι
ἔφυγον εἰς Σηστόν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώ-
θησαν.
37 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι Ἀν-
νίβα ἡγουμένου στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Σικελίαν δέκα
μυριάσι στρατιᾶς αἱροῦσιν ἐν τρισὶ μησὶ δύο
πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας Σελινοῦντα καὶ Ἱμέραν.[3]

[1] ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας Kel. regards as corrupt.

[2] καὶ MSS.: Kel. brackets.

[3] This paragraph and several later passages which summarize in the same way events outside of Greece are regarded by Kel. and almost all other edd. as interpolations. They are often inaccurate and always needless. Apparently they were inserted in unskilful imitation of the well-known practice of Thucydides.

When Agis saw this, he withdrew in haste, and some few of his rear line were killed by the Athenian light troops. In consequence of this occurrence the Athenians were still more ready to give Thrasyllus the help for which he had come, and they voted that he might choose out for service a thousand hoplites, a hundred horsemen, and fifty triremes. 410 B.C.

Meanwhile Agis, who could see from Decelea great numbers of grain-ships sailing in to Piraeus, said that it was useless for his troops to be trying all this long time to shut off the Athenians from access to their land, unless one should occupy also the country from which the grain was coming in by sea; and that it was best to send to Calchedon and Byzantium Clearchus, the son of Rhamphias, who was diplomatic agent for the Byzantines at Sparta. When this was resolved upon, fifteen ships were manned by the Megarians and the other allies, more properly transports than warships, and Clearchus set out with them. Three of his ships were destroyed in the Hellespont by the nine Attic ships which were continually on duty there to protect the Athenian merchantmen, but the rest escaped to Sestus and from there made their way safely to Byzantium.

So the year ended, being the year in which the Carthaginians, under the leadership of Hannibal, made an expedition against Sicily, with an army of one hundred thousand men, and in the course of three months captured two Greek cities, Selinus and Himera.

II. Τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει, ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιὰς τρίτη καὶ ἐνενηκοστή, ᾗ προστεθεῖσα ξυνωρὶς ἐνίκα Εὐαγόρου Ἠλείου, τὸ δὲ στάδιον Εὐβώτας Κυρηναῖος, ἐπὶ ἐφόρου μὲν ὄντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ Εὐαρχίππου, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Εὐκτήμονος,[1] Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν Θορικὸν ἐτείχισαν, Θράσυλλος δὲ τά τε ψηφισθέντα πλοῖα λαβὼν καὶ πεντακισχιλίους τῶν ναυτῶν πελταστὰς ποιησάμενος ὡς ἅμα καὶ πελτασταῖς χρησόμενος ἐξέπλευσεν ἀρχομένου
2 τοῦ θέρους εἰς Σάμον. ἐκεῖ δὲ μείνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πύγελα· καὶ ἐνταῦθα τήν τε χώραν ἐδῄου καὶ προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου βοηθήσαντές τινες τοῖς Πυγελεῦσι διεσπαρμένους ὄντας τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ψιλοὺς
3 ἐδίωκον. οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν δύο λόχοι βοηθήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς αὑτῶν ψιλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐκ Μιλήτου ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων, καὶ ἀσπίδας ἔλαβον ὡς διακοσίας, καὶ τρο-
4 παῖον ἔστησαν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν παρασκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο εἰς Κολοφῶνα· Κολοφώνιοι δὲ προσεχώρησαν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Λυδίαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, καὶ κώμας τε πολλὰς ἐνέπρησαν καὶ χρήματα ἔλαβον καὶ
5 ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἄλλην λείαν πολλήν. Στάγης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ὤν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας λείας, βοηθησάντων τῶν ἱππέων

[1] ᾧ . . . Εὐκτήμονος rejected by Kel. and edd. generally, as are later passages of the same sort, for reasons similar to those stated in the note on i. 37.

II. In the next year—in which was celebrated 409 B.C.
the ninety-third Olympiad, when the newly added two-horse race was won by Euagoras of Elis and the stadium[1] by Eubotas of Cyrene, Euarchippus being now ephor at Sparta and Euctemon archon at Athens —the Athenians fortified Thoricus; and Thrasyllus took the ships which had been voted him, equipped five thousand of his sailors so that he might employ them as peltasts also, and set sail at the beginning of the summer for Samos. After remaining there for three days he sailed to Pygela; and there he laid waste the country and attacked the wall of the town. A force from Miletus, however, came to the aid of the Pygelans, and finding the Athenian light troops scattered, pursued them. Thereupon the peltasts and two companies of the hoplites came to the aid of their light troops and killed all but a few of the men from Miletus; they also captured about two hundred shields and set up a trophy. On the next day they sailed to Notium and from there, after making the necessary preparations, marched to Colophon; and the Colophonians gave them their allegiance. It was now the time when the grain was ripening, and during the following night they made a raid into Lydia, burned many villages, and seized money, slaves, and other booty in great quantities. Stages, the Persian, however, was in this region, and when the Athenians had scattered from their camp for private plunder, he captured one of them and killed seven others, despite the fact that their cavalry

[1] The 200 yards foot-race.

6 ἕνα μὲν ζωὸν ἔλαβεν, ἑπτὰ δὲ ἀπέκτεινε. Θρά-
συλλος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν
τὴν στρατιάν, ὡς εἰς Ἔφεσον πλευσούμενος.
Τισσαφέρνης δὲ αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα,
στρατιάν τε συνέλεγε πολλὴν καὶ ἱππέας ἀπέ-
στελλε παραγγέλλων πᾶσιν εἰς Ἔφεσον[1] βοηθεῖν
7 τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. Θράσυλλος δὲ ἑβδόμῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ
ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν εἰς Ἔφεσον ἔπλευσε,
καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας πρὸς τὸν Κορησσὸν ἀποβι-
βάσας, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ ἐπι-
βάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πρὸς τὸ ἕλος ἐπὶ
τὰ ἕτερα τῆς πόλεως, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσῆγε δύο
8 στρατόπεδα. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν
Ἐφέσιοι οἵ τε σύμμαχοι, οὓς Τισσαφέρνης ἤγαγε,
καὶ Συρακόσιοι οἵ τ' ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἴκοσι
νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἑτέρων πέντε, αἳ ἔτυχον τότε παρα-
γενόμεναι, νεωστὶ ἥκουσαι μετὰ Εὐκλέους τε τοῦ
Ἵππωνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀριστογένους
9 στρατηγῶν, καὶ Σελινούσιαι δύο.[2] οὗτοι δὲ πάν-
τες πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας τοὺς ἐν
Κορησσῷ ἐβοήθησαν· τούτους δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ
ἀποκτείναντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν
θάλατταν καταδιώξαντες πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἕλος
ἐτράποντο. ἔφυγον δὲ κἀκεῖ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ
10 ἀπώλοντο αὐτῶν ὡς τριακόσιοι. οἱ δὲ Ἐφέσιοι
τροπαῖον ἐνταῦθα ἔστησαν καὶ ἕτερον πρὸς τῷ
Κορησσῷ. τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις καὶ Σελινουσίοις
κρατίστοις γενομένοις ἀριστεῖα ἔδοσαν καὶ κοινῇ
καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλοῖς, καὶ οἰκεῖν ἀτελεῖ τῷ βουλομένῳ

[1] εἰς Ἔφεσον MSS.: Kel. brackets.
[2] Σελινούσιαι δύο Kel. regards as corrupt.

came to the rescue. After this Thrasyllus led his 409 B.C. army back to the coast, with the intention of sailing to Ephesus. But when Tissaphernes learned of this plan, he gathered together a large army and sent out horsemen to carry word to everybody to rally at Ephesus for the protection of Artemis. And now, on the seventeenth day after his raid, Thrasyllus sailed to Ephesus; and having disembarked the hoplites at the foot of Mount Coressus, and the cavalry, peltasts, marines, and all the rest near the marsh on the opposite side of the city, he led forward the two divisions at daybreak. The defenders of the city sallied forth to meet the attack,—the Ephesians, the allies whom Tissaphernes had brought them, the crews of the original twenty Syracusan ships and of five others which chanced to have arrived there at the time, newly come from Syracuse under the command of Eucles, the son of Hippon, and Heracleides, the son of Aristogenes, and finally, the crews of two Selinuntine ships. All these contingents directed their first attack upon the hoplites at Coressus; and after routing them, killing about a hundred of them, and pursuing the rest down to the shore, they turned their attention to those by the marsh; and there also the Athenians were put to flight, and about three hundred of them were killed. So the Ephesians set up a trophy there and a second at Coressus. They also gave to the Syracusans and Selinuntines, who had especially distinguished themselves, the prizes for valour, not only general prizes, but many to particular individuals among them, while upon any one of them who at any time might desire it they conferred the privilege of dwelling in Ephesus tax free; and to the Selinuntines, after

ἀεί. Σελινουσίοις δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπωλώλει,
καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδοσαν.
11 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπο-
λαβόντες ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, κἀκεῖ θάψαντες
αὐτοὺς ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Λέσβου καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου.
12 ὁρμοῦντες δὲ ἐν Μηθύμνῃ τῆς Λέσβου εἶδον παρα-
πλεούσας ἐξ Ἐφέσου τὰς Συρακοσίας ναῦς πέντε
καὶ εἴκοσι· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀναχθέντες τέτταρας
μὲν ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ' ἄλλας κατε-
13 δίωξαν εἰς Ἔφεσον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμα-
λώτους Θράσυλλος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέπεμψε πάν-
τας, Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ Ἀθηναῖον, Ἀλκιβιάδου ὄντα
ἀνεψιὸν καὶ συμφυγάδα, κατέλευσεν. ἐντεῦθεν
δὲ ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Σηστὸν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρά-
τευμα· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἅπασα ἡ στρατιὰ διέβη εἰς
Λάμψακον.
14 Καὶ χειμὼν ἐπῄει, ἐν ᾧ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι Συρα-
κόσιοι, εἱργμένοι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομίαις, διο-
ρύξαντες τὴν πέτραν, ἀποδράντες νυκτὸς ᾤχοντο
15 εἰς Δεκέλειαν, οἱ δ' εἰς Μέγαρα. ἐν δὲ τῇ Λαμ-
ψάκῳ συντάττοντος Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸ στράτευμα
πᾶν οἱ πρότεροι στρατιῶται οὐκ ἐβούλοντο τοῖς
μετὰ Θρασύλλου συντάττεσθαι, ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν
ὄντες ἀήττητοι, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἡττημένοι ἥκοιεν. ἐν-
ταῦθα δὴ ἐχείμαζον ἅπαντες Λάμψακον τειχί-
16 ζοντες. καὶ ἐστράτευσαν πρὸς Ἄβυδον· Φαρνά-
βαζος δ' ἐβοήθησεν ἵπποις πολλοῖς, καὶ μάχῃ

Selinus had been destroyed,[1] they gave the rights of Ephesian citizenship as well. 409 B.C.

As for the Athenians, after obtaining a truce and so recovering the bodies of their dead, they sailed back to Notium, buried the dead there, and sailed on towards Lesbos and the Hellespont. While they were at anchor in the harbour of Methymna, in Lesbos, they saw sailing past them from Ephesus the twenty-five Syracusan ships; and putting out to the attack they captured four of them, men and all, and chased the rest back to Ephesus. And Thrasyllus sent home to Athens all the prisoners with the exception of Alcibiades; this Alcibiades, who was an Athenian and a cousin and fellow-exile of Alcibiades the general, he caused to be stoned to death. Then he set sail to Sestus to join the rest of the army; and from Sestus the entire force crossed over to Lampsacus.

And now the winter came on. During the course of it the Syracusan prisoners, who were immured in stone quarries in Piraeus, dug through the rock and made their escape by night, most of them to Decelea and the rest to Megara. Meanwhile at Lampsacus Alcibiades endeavoured to marshal his entire army as a unit, but the old soldiers were unwilling to be marshalled with the troops of Thrasyllus; for they said that they had never known defeat, while the others had just come from a defeat. Both contingents, however, wintered there together, occupying themselves in fortifying Lampsacus. They also made an expedition against Abydus; and Pharnabazus, who came to its aid with a large force of cavalry, was

[1] By the Carthaginians, shortly after the events here narrated.

ἡττηθεὶς ἔφυγεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐδίωκεν ἔχων τούς τε ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ὧν ἦρχε Μένανδρος, μέχρι σκότος ἀφείλετο.
17 ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης ταύτης συνέβησαν οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοὶ αὑτοῖς καὶ ἠσπάζοντο τοὺς μετὰ Θρασύλλου. ἐξῆλθον δέ τινας καὶ ἄλλας ἐξόδους τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον καὶ ἐπόρθουν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν.

18 Τῷ δ᾽ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς εἰς τὸ Κορυφάσιον τῶν Εἱλώτων ἀφεστῶτας ἐκ Μαλέας ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ Τραχινίᾳ Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς ἐποίκους, ἀντιτεταγμένων πάντων πρὸς Οἰταίους πολεμίους ὄντας, προέδοσαν, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν πρὸς ἑπτακοσίους σὺν τῷ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἁρμοστῇ Λαβώτῃ.

19 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Μῆδοι ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀποστάντες πάλιν προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ.[1]

III. Τοῦ δ᾽ ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὁ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ νεὼς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐνεπρήσθη πρηστῆρος ἐμπεσόντος. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, Παντακλέους μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δ᾽ Ἀντιγένους, ἔαρος ἀρχομένου, δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ παρεληλυθότων,[2] οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔπλευσαν εἰς Προκόννησον
2 παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐκεῖθεν δ᾽ ἐπὶ Καλχηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον ὁρμήσαντες ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς Καλχηδόνι. οἱ δὲ Καλχηδόνιοι προσιόντας

[1] This paragraph is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on i. 37.

[2] τοῦ . . . ἐμπεσόντος and Παντακλέους . . . παρεληλυθότων are probably interpolations. See crit. note on ii. 1.

defeated in battle and put to flight. And Alcibiades 409 B.C.
pursued him with the Athenian cavalry and one hundred and twenty of the hoplites, under the command of Menander, until darkness covered the retreat. As a result of this battle the soldiers came together of their own accord and the old troops fraternised with those under Thrasyllus. The Athenians also made some other expeditions during the winter into the interior and laid waste the King's territory.

At the same period the Lacedaemonians granted terms to the Helots who had revolted and fled from Malea to Coryphasium, allowing them to evacuate Coryphasium unmolested.[1] At about the same time, also, the colonists of Heracleia, in Trachis, were betrayed by the Achaeans in a battle where both peoples were drawn up against their enemies, the Oetaeans, and as a result about seven hundred of the Heracleots perished, together with the Lacedaemonian governor, Labotas.

So this year ended, being the year in which the Medes, who had revolted from Darius, king of the Persians, were again reduced to subjection.

III. During the ensuing year the temple of 408 B.C.
Athena at Phocaea was struck by lightning and set on fire. When the winter ended and spring began,—Pantacles being now ephor and Antigenes archon, and the war having continued for twenty-two years—the Athenians sailed with their entire force to Proconnesus. From there they set out against Calchedon and Byzantium, and went into camp near Calchedon. Now the Calchedonians, when they learned that the

[1] Coryphasium, or Pylos, had been in the hands of the Athenians since 425 B.C. It was garrisoned largely by Messenians and Helots.

αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, τὴν λείαν ἅπασαν
κατέθεντο εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς Θρᾷκας ἀστυγείτονας
3 ὄντας. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ λαβὼν τῶν τε ὁπλιτῶν
ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς παραπλεῖν
κελεύσας, ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἀπῄτει τὰ τῶν
Καλχηδονίων χρήματα· εἰ δὲ μή, πολεμήσειν ἔφη
4 αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀπέδοσαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἐπεὶ
ἧκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τήν τε λείαν ἔχων καὶ
πίστεις πεποιημένος, ἀπετείχιζε τὴν Καλχηδόνα
παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατ-
ταν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅσον οἷόν τ' ἦν ξυλίνῳ
5 τείχει. ἐνταῦθα Ἱπποκράτης μὲν ὁ Λακεδαι-
μόνιος ἁρμοστὴς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήγαγε τοὺς
στρατιώτας ὡς μαχούμενος· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντι-
παρετάξαντο αὐτῷ, Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἔξω τῶν
περιτειχισμάτων προσεβοήθει στρατιᾷ τε καὶ
6 ἵπποις πολλοῖς. Ἱπποκράτης μὲν οὖν καὶ Θρά-
συλλος ἐμάχοντο ἑκάτερος τοῖς ὁπλίταις χρόνον
πολύν, μέχρι Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔχων ὁπλίτας τέ τινας
καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐβοήθησε. καὶ Ἱπποκράτης
μὲν ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον εἰς
7 τὴν πόλιν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος, οὐ δυνά-
μενος συμμεῖξαι πρὸς τὸν Ἱπποκράτην διὰ τὴν
στενοπορίαν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποτειχισμά-
των ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Ἡράκλειον
τὸ τῶν Καλχηδονίων, οὗ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον.
8 ἐκ τούτου δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν ᾤχετο εἰς τὸν
Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ εἰς Χερρόνησον χρήματα πρά-
ξων· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ συνεχώρησαν πρὸς

Athenians were approaching, had put all their portable property in the keeping of the Bithynian Thracians, their neighbours. Alcibiades, however, taking a few of the hoplites and the cavalry, and giving orders that the ships should sail along the coast, went to the Bithynians and demanded the property of the Calchedonians, saying that if they did not give it to him, he would make war upon them; so they gave it over. And when Alcibiades returned to his camp with the booty, after having concluded a treaty with the Bithynians, he proceeded with his whole army to invest Calchedon by building a wooden stockade which extended from sea to sea, taking in the river also in so far as this was practicable.[1] Thereupon Hippocrates, the Lacedaemonian governor, led forth his troops from the city to do battle; and the Athenians marshalled themselves against him, while Pharnabazus, outside the stockade, with infantry and horsemen in great numbers, tried to aid Hippocrates. Now for a long time Hippocrates and Thrasyllus fought, each with his hoplites, until Alcibiades came to the rescue with a few hoplites and the cavalry. Then Hippocrates was killed, and those who were with him fled back into the city. At the same time Pharnabazus, unable to effect a junction with Hippocrates owing to the narrowness of the space, since the stockade came down close to the river, retired to the Heracleium in the Calchedonian territory, where he had his camp. After this Alcibiades went off to the Hellespont and the Chersonese to collect money; and the rest of the generals concluded 408 B.C.

[1] "From sea to sea," *i.e.* from Bosporus to Propontis. The "river" broke the line of the stockade, but the latter was carried as near as possible to each bank of the river.

Φαρνάβαζον ὑπὲρ Καλχηδόνος εἴκοσι τάλαντα
δοῦναι Ἀθηναίοις Φαρνάβαζον καὶ ὡς βασιλέα
9 πρέσβεις Ἀθηναίων ἀναγαγεῖν, καὶ ὅρκους ἔδοσαν
καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ Φαρναβάζου ὑποτελεῖν τὸν
φόρον Καλχηδονίους Ἀθηναίοις ὅσονπερ εἰώθεσαν
καὶ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι, Ἀθηναί-
ους δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν Καλχηδονίοις, ἕως ἂν οἱ παρὰ
10 βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἔλθωσιν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ
τοῖς ὅρκοις οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρών, ἀλλὰ περὶ Ση-
λυμβρίαν ἦν· ἐκείνην δ' ἑλὼν πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον
ἧκεν, ἔχων Χερρονησίτας τε πανδημεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ
Θρᾴκης στρατιώτας καὶ ἱππέας πλείους τρια-
11 κοσίων. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἀξιῶν δεῖν κἀκεῖνον
ὀμνύναι, περιέμενεν ἐν Καλχηδόνι, μέχρι ἔλθοι
ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθεν, οὐκ ἔφη
12 ὀμεῖσθαι, εἰ μὴ κἀκεῖνος αὐτῷ ὀμεῖται. μετὰ
ταῦτα ὤμοσεν ὁ μὲν ἐν Χρυσοπόλει οἷς Φαρνά-
βαζος ἔπεμψε Μιτροβάτει καὶ Ἀρνάπει, ὁ δ' ἐν
Καλχηδόνι τοῖς παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου Εὐρυπτολέμῳ
καὶ Διοτίμῳ τόν τε κοινὸν ὅρκον καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀλλή-
13 λοις πίστεις ἐποιήσαντο. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν
εὐθὺς ἀπῄει, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα πορευο-
μένους πρέσβεις ἀπαντᾶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Κύζικον.
ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν Δωρόθεος, Φιλο-
κύδης, Θεογένης, Εὐρυπτόλεμος, Μαντίθεος, σὺν
δὲ τούτοις Ἀργεῖοι Κλεόστρατος, Πυρρόλοχος·
ἐπορεύοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις[1]

[1] πρέσβεις MSS.: Kel. brackets.

a compact with Pharnabazus which provided that, in 408 B.C
consideration of their sparing Calchedon, Pharnabazus should give the Athenians twenty talents and should conduct Athenian ambassadors to the King; they also received from Pharnabazus a pledge under oath that the Calchedonians should pay to the Athenians precisely the same tribute they had been accustomed to pay and should settle the arrears of tribute, while they on their side made oath that the Athenians would not wage war upon the Calchedonians until the ambassadors should return from the King. Alcibiades was not present at the exchange of these oaths, but was in the neighbourhood of Selymbria; and when he had captured that city, he came to Byzantium, bringing with him all the forces of the Chersonesians and soldiers from Thrace and more than three hundred horsemen. Now Pharnabazus thought that Alcibiades also ought to give his oath, and so waited at Calchedon until he should come from Byzantium; but when he came, he said that he would not make oath unless Pharnabazus also should do the like to him. In the end, Alcibiades made oath at Chrysopolis to the representatives of Pharnabazus, Mitrobates and Arnapes, and Pharnabazus at Calchedon to the representatives of Alcibiades, Euryptolemus and Diotimus, both parties not only giving the official oath but also making personal pledges to one another. Immediately after this Pharnabazus went away, leaving word that the ambassadors who were going to the King should meet him at Cyzicus. The Athenians who were sent were Dorotheus, Philocydes, Theogenes, Euryptolemus, and Mantitheus, and with them two Argives, Cleostratus and Pyrrolochus; ambassadors of the Lacedae-

Πασιππίδας καὶ ἕτεροι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἑρμοκράτης, ἤδη φεύγων ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Πρόξενος.

14 Καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μὲν τούτους ἦγεν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκουν περιτειχίσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἀκροβολισμοὺς καὶ προσβολὰς
15 ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ἦν Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἁρμοστὴς καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν περιοίκων τινὲς καὶ τῶν νεοδαμώδων οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Ἕλιξος Μεγαρεὺς
16 καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ τούτων ἄρχων Κοιρατάδας. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο διαπράξασθαι κατ' ἰσχύν, ἔπεισάν τινας τῶν Βυζαντίων προ-
17 δοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ ἁρμοστὴς οἰόμενος οὐδένα ἂν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καταστήσας δὲ ἅπαντα ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κοιρατάδᾳ καὶ Ἑλίξῳ, διέβη παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς τὸ πέραν, μισθόν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις παρ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμενος καὶ ναῦς συλλέξων, αἳ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἄλλαι[1] καταλελειμμέναι φρουρίδες ὑπὸ Πασιππίδου καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ[2] καὶ ἃς Ἀγησανδρίδας εἶχεν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, ἐπιβάτης ὢν Μινδάρου, καὶ ὅπως ἄλλαι ναυπηγηθείησαν, ἁθρόαι δὲ γενόμεναι πᾶσαι κακῶς τοὺς συμμάχους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιοῦσαι ἀποσπάσειαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου.
18 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, οἱ προδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντίων,[3] Κύδων καὶ Ἀρίστων καὶ Ἀναξικράτης καὶ Λυκοῦργος καὶ Ἀναξίλαος,

[1] ἄλλαι: Kel. inserts ἄλλη after it.
[2] καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ as in the MSS.: Kel. inserts after ὅπως.
[3] Βυζαντίων: Kel. here inserts πρὸς ἔργον ἐτράποντο· ἦσαν δὲ οἵδε·.

monians also went along, Pasippidas and others, and with them Hermocrates, who was already an exile from Syracuse, and his brother Proxenus. 408 B.C.

While Pharnabazus was conducting this party, the Athenians were besieging Byzantium; they had built a stockade around the city, and were attacking its wall with missiles from a distance and by close assault. Within Byzantium was Clearchus the Lacedaemonian, its governor, and with him some Laconian Perioeci, a few emancipated Helots, a contingent of Megarians, under the command of Helixus the Megarian, and one of Boeotians, under the command of Coeratadas. Now the Athenians, finding that they were unable to accomplish anything by force, persuaded some of the Byzantines to betray the city. Meanwhile Clearchus, the governor, supposing that no one would do that, arranged everything as well as he could, turned over the charge of the city to Coeratadas and Helixus, and crossed to the opposite shore to meet Pharnabazus, in order to get from him pay for the soldiers and also to collect ships. His plan was to assemble those which had been left behind by Pasippidas as guardships and were now in the Hellespont, those at Antandrus, and those which Agesandridas, a lieutenant of Mindarus, had under his command on the Thracian coast, and finally, to have other ships built; then, after gathering them all together, he thought to harry the allies of the Athenians and so draw off their army from Byzantium. But when Clearchus had sailed away, those who wanted to betray the city of the Byzantines set about their work,—Cydon, Ariston, Anaxicrates, Lycurgus, and Anaxilaus. This

19 ὃς ὑπαγόμενος θανάτου ὕστερον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι
διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν ἀπέφυγεν εἰπών, ὅτι οὐ προ-
δοίη τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σῶσαι, παῖδας ὁρῶν καὶ
γυναῖκας λιμῷ ἀπολλυμένους, Βυζάντιος ὢν καὶ
οὐ Λακεδαιμόνιος· τὸν γὰρ ἐνόντα σῖτον Κλέ-
αρχον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων στρατιώταις διδόναι·
διὰ ταῦτ᾽ οὖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἔφη εἰσέσθαι, οὐκ
ἀργυρίου ἕνεκα οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ μισεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους·
20 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, νυκτὸς ἀνοίξαντες
τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Θρᾴκιον καλούμενον εἰσή-
21 γαγον τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ὁ δὲ
Ἕλιξος καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδότες
ἐβοήθουν μετὰ πάντων εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· ἐπεὶ δὲ
πάντῃ οἱ πολέμιοι κατεῖχον, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὅ τι
22 ποιήσαιεν, παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτούς. καὶ οὗτοι
μὲν ἀπεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας
ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀποβαινόντων ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἔλαθεν
ἀποδρὰς καὶ ἀπεσώθη εἰς Δεκέλειαν.

IV. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῆς Φρυ-
γίας ἐν Γορδίῳ ὄντες τὸν χειμῶνα τὰ περὶ τὸ
2 Βυζάντιον πεπραγμένα ἤκουσαν. ἀρχομένου δὲ
τοῦ ἔαρος πορευομένοις αὐτοῖς παρὰ βασιλέα
ἀπήντησαν καταβαίνοντες οἵ τε Λακεδαιμονίων
πρέσβεις, Βοιώτιος[1] καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι,[2] καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι
πάντων ὧν δέονται πεπραγότες εἶεν παρὰ βασι-
3 λέως, καὶ Κῦρος, ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ

[1] The MSS. add ὄνομα here: Kel. brackets.
[2] ἄγγελοι MSS.: Kel. brackets.

Anaxilaus was afterwards tried for his life at Lacedaemon because of this betrayal, but was acquitted, on the plea that he did not betray the city, but rather saved it; he was a Byzantine, he said, not a Lacedaemonian, and when he saw children and women perishing of starvation,—for Clearchus, he said, gave whatever provisions the city contained to the soldiers of the Lacedaemonians,—he had for this reason admitted the enemy, not for the sake of money nor out of hatred to the Lacedaemonians. As has been said, however, these betrayers made their preparations, and then, opening by night the gates that lead to the Thracian Square, as it is called, let in the Athenian army and Alcibiades. Now Helixus and Coeratadas, who knew nothing of what was going on, hurried to the market-place with all their troops; but when they found that the enemy were masters everywhere and that they could do nothing, they surrendered themselves. They were all sent off to Athens, and as they were disembarking at Piraeus, Coeratadas slipped away in the crowd and made his escape to Decelea. 408 B.C.

IV. As for Pharnabazus and the ambassadors, while they were spending the winter at Gordium, in Phrygia, they heard what had happened at Byzantium. But as they were continuing their journey to the King, at the opening of the spring, they met not only the Lacedaemonian ambassadors returning,—Boeotius and his colleagues and the messengers[1] besides, who reported that the Lacedaemonians had obtained from the King everything they wanted,—but also Cyrus, who had come in order to be ruler of all the peoples on the coast and to support the 407 B.C.

[1] The reference is uncertain.

καὶ συμπολεμήσων Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιστολήν τε
ἔφερε τοῖς κάτω πᾶσι τὸ βασίλειον σφράγισμα
ἔχουσαν, ἐν ᾗ ἐνῆν καὶ τάδε· Καταπέμπω Κῦρον
4 κάρανον τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἁθροιζομένων. τὸ δὲ
κάρανον ἔστι κύριον. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀκούοντες οἱ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Κῦρον εἶδον,
ἐβούλοντο μὲν μάλιστα[1] παρὰ βασιλέα ἀναβῆναι,
5 εἰ δὲ μή, οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν. Κῦρος δὲ Φαρναβάζῳ
εἶπεν ἢ παραδοῦναι τοὺς πρέσβεις ἑαυτῷ ἢ μὴ
οἴκαδέ πω ἀποπέμψαι, βουλόμενος τοὺς Ἀθη-
6 ναίους μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ πραττόμενα. Φαρνάβαζος
δὲ τέως μὲν κατεῖχε τοὺς πρέσβεις, φάσκων τοτὲ
μὲν ἀνάξειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα, τοτὲ δὲ οἴκαδε
7 ἀποπέμψειν, ὡς μηδὲν μέμψηται· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνι-
αυτοὶ τρεῖς ἦσαν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ Κύρου ἀφεῖναι αὐ-
τούς, φάσκων ὀμωμοκέναι ἀπάξειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν,
ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα. πέμψαντες δὲ Ἀριο-
βαρζάνει παρακομίσαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον· ὁ δὲ
ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, ὅθεν πρὸς τὸ
ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἀπέπλευσαν.
8 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιω-
τῶν ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάμου·
ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τῶν νεῶν εἴκοσιν ἔπλευσε τῆς
Καρίας ἐς τὸν Κεραμικὸν κόλπον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ
συλλέξας ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Σάμον.
9 Θρασύβουλος δὲ σὺν τριάκοντα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Θρᾴ-
κης ᾤχετο, ἐκεῖ δὲ τά τε ἄλλα χωρία τὰ πρὸς

[1] μὲν μάλιστα MSS.: μάλιστα μὲν Kel.

Lacedaemonians in the war. This Cyrus brought with him a letter, addressed to all the dwellers upon the sea[1] and bearing the King's seal, which contained among other things these words: "I send down Cyrus as caranus"—the word "caranus" means "lord"—"of those whose mustering-place is Castolus." When the Athenian ambassadors heard all this and saw Cyrus, they wished, if it were possible, to make their journey to the King, but otherwise to return home. Cyrus, however, directed Pharnabazus either to give the ambassadors into his charge, or at any rate not to let them go home as yet, for he wished the Athenians not to know of what was going on. Pharnabazus, accordingly, in order that Cyrus might not censure him, detained the ambassadors for a time, now saying that he would conduct them to the King, and again, that he would let them go home; but when three years had passed, he requested Cyrus to release them, on the plea that he had given his oath to conduct them back to the coast, since he could not take them to the King. So they sent the ambassadors to Ariobarzanes and directed him to escort them on; and he conducted them to Cius, in Mysia, whence they set sail to join the Athenian army. 407 B.C.

Meanwhile Alcibiades, wishing to sail home with his troops, made straight for Samos; from there he sailed, with twenty of the ships, to the Ceramic Gulf, in Caria; and after collecting there a hundred talents, he returned to Samos. Thrasybulus, however, with thirty ships, went off to the Thracian coast, where he reduced all the places which had

[1] *i.e.* the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, as contrasted with the interior of the Persian Empire.

Λακεδαιμονίους μεθεστηκότα κατεστρέψατο καὶ
Θάσον, ἔχουσαν κακῶς ὑπό τε τῶν πολέμων καὶ
10 στάσεων καὶ λιμοῦ. Θράσυλλος δὲ σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ
στρατιᾷ εἰς Ἀθήνας κατέπλευσε· πρὶν δὲ ἥκειν
αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγοὺς εἵλοντο Ἀλκι-
βιάδην μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ Θρασύβουλον ἀπόντα,
11 Κόνωνα δὲ τρίτον ἐκ τῶν οἴκοθεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης
δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἔχων τὰ χρήματα κατέπλευσεν
εἰς Πάρον ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν, ἐκεῖθεν δ᾽ ἀνήχθη εὐθὺ
Γυθείου ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν τῶν τριήρων, ἃς ἐπυν-
θάνετο Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτόθι παρασκευάζειν
τριάκοντα, καὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε κατάπλου ὅπως ἡ
12 πόλις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχει. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἑώρα ἑαυτῷ εὔνουν
οὖσαν καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ᾑρημένους καὶ ἰδίᾳ
μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, κατέπλευσεν
εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἡ πόλις,
τοῦ ἕδους κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὅ τινες
οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ
πόλει. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου ἔργου τολμῆσαι ἂν ἅψασθαι.
13 Καταπλέοντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὅ τε ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς
καὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὄχλος ἠθροίσθη πρὸς τὰς
ναῦς, θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἰδεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν
Ἀλκιβιάδην, λέγοντες[1] οἱ μὲν ὡς κράτιστος εἴη
τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνος οὐ δικαίως φύγοι, ἐπι-
βουλευθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔλαττον ἐκείνου δυνα-
μένων μοχθηρότερά τε λεγόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ

[1] In the MSS. λέγοντες is followed by ὅτι, and μόνος (below) by ἀπελογήθη ὡς: Kel. brackets.

revolted to the Lacedaemonians, and especially 407 B.C. Thasos, which was in a bad state on account of wars and revolutions and famine. Thrasyllus finally, with the rest of the fleet, sailed home to Athens; but before he arrived, the Athenians had chosen as generals Alcibiades, who was still in exile, Thrasybulus, who was absent, and as a third, from among those at home, Conon. And now Alcibiades sailed from Samos with his twenty ships and his money to Paros, and from there directed his course straight to Gytheium, in order to take a look at the thirty triremes which he heard the Lacedaemonians were making ready there and to see how his city felt toward him, with reference to his homecoming. And when he found that the temper of the Athenians was kindly, that they had chosen him general, and that his friends were urging him by personal messages to return, he sailed in to Piraeus, arriving on the day when the city was celebrating the Plynteria[1] and the statue of Athena was veiled from sight,—a circumstance which some people imagined was of ill omen, both for him and for the state; for on that day no Athenian would venture to engage in any serious business.

When he sailed in, the common crowd of Piraeus and of the city gathered to his ships, filled with wonder and desiring to see the famous Alcibiades. Some of them said that he was the best of the citizens; that he alone was banished without just cause, but rather because he was plotted against by those who had less power than he and spoke less well and ordered their political doings with a view

[1] When the clothing of the ancient wooden statue of Athena Polias was removed and washed (πλύνειν).

αὐτῶν ἴδιον κέρδος πολιτευόντων, ἐκείνου ἀεὶ τὸ κοινὸν αὔξοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
14 τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ· ἐθέλοντος δὲ τότε κρίνεσθαι παραχρῆμα τῆς αἰτίας ἄρτι γεγενημένης ὡς ἠσεβηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, ὑπερβαλλόμενοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα δίκαια εἶναι ἀπόντα αὐτὸν
15 ἐστέρησαν τῆς πατρίδος· ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας δουλεύων ἠναγκάσθη μὲν θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἐχθίστους, κινδυνεύων ἀεὶ παρ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπολέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ οἰκειοτάτους πολίτας τε καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν ὁρῶν ἐξαμαρτάνουσαν, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ὠφελοίη φυγῇ ἀπειργό-
16 μενος· οὐκ ἔφασαν δὲ τῶν οἵωνπερ αὐτὸς ὄντων εἶναι καινῶν δεῖσθαι πραγμάτων οὐδὲ μεταστάσεως· ὑπάρχειν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ μὲν τῶν τε ἡλικιωτῶν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων μὴ ἐλαττοῦσθαι, τοῖς δ' αὐτοῦ ἐχθροῖς τοιούτοις δοκεῖν εἶναι οἵοισπερ[1] πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ δυνασθεῖσιν ἀπολλύναι τοὺς βελτίστους, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνους λειφθέντας δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγαπᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅτι ἑτέροις βελτίοσιν οὐκ εἶχον χρῆσθαι.

17 Οἱ δέ, ὅτι τῶν παροιχομένων αὐτοῖς κακῶν μόνος αἴτιος εἴη, τῶν τε φοβερῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι μόνος κινδυνεύσοι[2] ἡγεμὼν καταστῆναι.

18 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὁρμισθεὶς ἀπέβαινε μὲν οὐκ εὐθέως, φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐχθρούς·

[1] τοιούτοις . . . οἵοισπερ Morus : τοιοῦτος . . . οἷοσπερ MSS.: τοιούτοις . . . οἵοις περιμένειν μὲν Kel.

[2] κινδυνεύσοι Blake : κινδυνεύσαι Kel.: κινδυνεῦσαι MSS.

to their own private gain, whereas he was always advancing the common weal, both by his own means and by the power of the state. At the time in question,[1] they said, he was willing to be brought to trial at once, when the charge had just been made that he had committed sacrilege against the Eleusinian Mysteries; his enemies, however, postponed the trial, which was obviously his right, and then, when he was absent, robbed him of his fatherland; thereafter, in his exile, helpless as a slave and in danger of his life every day, he was forced to pay court to those whom he hated most[2]; and though he saw those who were dearest to him, his fellow-citizens and kinsmen and all Athens, making mistakes, he was debarred by his banishment from the opportunity of helping them. It was not the way, they said, of men such as he to desire revolution or a change in government; for under the democracy it had been his fortune to be not only superior to his contemporaries but also not inferior to his elders, while his enemies, on the other hand, were held in precisely the same low estimation after his banishment as before; later, however, when they had gained power, they had slain the best men, and since they alone were left, they were accepted by the citizens merely for the reason that better men were not available. 407 B.C.

Others, however, said that Alcibiades alone was responsible for their past troubles, and as for the ills which threatened to befall the state, he alone would probably prove to be the prime cause of them.

Meanwhile Alcibiades, who had come to anchor close to the shore, did not at once disembark, through

[1] In 415 B.C., just before the departure of Alcibiades with the Syracusan expedition.

[2] The Spartans and the Persians.

ἐπαναστὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐσκόπει
19 τοὺς αὑτοῦ ἐπιτηδείους, εἰ παρείησαν. κατιδὼν
δὲ Εὐρυπτόλεμον τὸν Πεισιάνακτος, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ
ἀνεψιόν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους καὶ τοὺς φίλους
μετ' αὐτῶν, τότε ἀποβὰς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὴν πόλιν
μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, εἴ τις ἅπτοιτο, μὴ
20 ἐπιτρέπειν. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
ἀπολογησάμενος ὡς οὐκ ἠσεβήκει, εἰπὼν δὲ ὡς
ἠδίκηται, λεχθέντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων καὶ
οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ἂν
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρηθεὶς ἁπάντων ἡγεμὼν
αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡς οἷός τε ὢν σῶσαι τὴν προτέραν
τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν, πρότερον[1] μὲν τὰ μυστήρια
τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγόντων διὰ τὸν
πόλεμον, κατὰ γῆν ἐποίησεν ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς
21 στρατιώτας ἅπαντας· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατελέξατο
στρατιάν, ὁπλίτας μὲν πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους,
ἱππέας δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ναῦς δ' ἑκατόν.
καὶ μετὰ τὸν κατάπλουν τετάρτῳ μηνὶ ἀνήχθη ἐπ'
Ἄνδρον ἀφεστηκυῖαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετ'
αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Λευ-
κολοφίδου συνεπέμφθησαν ᾑρημένοι κατὰ γῆν
στρατηγοί.
22 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀπεβίβασε τὸ στράτευμα τῆς
Ἀνδρίας χώρας[2] εἰς Γαύριον· ἐκβοηθήσαντας δὲ
τοὺς Ἀνδρίους ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατέκλεισαν εἰς
τὴν πόλιν καί τινας ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλούς, καὶ
23 τοὺς Λάκωνας οἳ αὐτόθι ἦσαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ
τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησε, καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ ὀλίγας

[1] πρότερον MSS.: πρῶτον Kel.
[2] χώρας MSS.: Kel. brackets.

fear of his enemies; but mounting upon the deck of his ship, he looked to see whether his friends were present. But when he sighted his cousin Euryptolemus, the son of Peisianax, and his other relatives and with them his friends, then he disembarked and went up to the city, accompanied by a party who were prepared to quell any attack that anyone might make upon him. And after he had spoken in his own defence before the Senate and the Assembly, saying that he had not committed sacrilege and that he had been unjustly treated, and after more of the same sort had been said, with no one speaking in opposition because the Assembly would not have tolerated it, he was proclaimed general-in-chief with absolute authority, the people thinking that he was the man to recover for the state its former power; then, as his first act, he led out all his troops and conducted by land the procession[1] of the Eleusinian Mysteries, which the Athenians had been conducting by sea on account of the war; and after this he collected an armament of fifteen hundred hoplites, one hundred and fifty horsemen, and one hundred ships. Then, in the fourth month after his return to Athens, he set sail for Andros, which had revolted from the Athenians; and with him were sent Aristocrates and Adeimantus, the son of Leucolophides, the generals who had been chosen for service by land. 407 B.C.

Alcibiades disembarked his army at Gaurium, in the territory of Andros; and when the men of Andros and the Laconians who were there came forth to meet him, the Athenians routed them, shut them up in their city, and killed some few of them. Accordingly Alcibiades set up a trophy, and after

[1] From Athens to the temple of Demeter at Eleusis.

ἡμέρας ἔπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον, κἀκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενος
ἐπολέμει.
V. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ
πολλῷ χρόνῳ Κρατησιππίδᾳ τῆς ναυαρχίας παρε-
ληλυθυίας Λύσανδρον ἐξέπεμψαν ναύαρχον. ὁ δὲ
ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ ναῦς ἐκεῖθεν λαβών,
εἰς Κῶ καὶ Μίλητον ἔπλευσεν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς
Ἔφεσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινε ναῦς ἔχων ἑβδομήκοντα
μέχρι οὗ Κῦρος εἰς Σάρδεις ἀφίκετο. ἐπεὶ δ'
ἧκεν, ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος
2 πρέσβεσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατά τε τοῦ Τισσα-
φέρνους ἔλεγον ἃ πεποιηκὼς εἴη, αὐτοῦ τε Κύρου
ἐδέοντο ὡς προθυμοτάτου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
3 γενέσθαι. Κῦρος δὲ τόν τε πατέρα ἔφη ταῦτα
ἐπεσταλκέναι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐγνωκέναι,
ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιήσειν· ἔχων δὲ ἥκειν τάλαντα
πεντακόσια· ἐὰν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκλίπῃ, τοῖς ἰδίοις
χρήσεσθαι ἔφη, ἃ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν· ἐὰν δὲ
καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακόψειν ἐφ' οὗ
4 ἐκάθητο, ὄντα ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσοῦν. οἱ δὲ
ταῦτ' ἐπῄνουν καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν τάξαι τῷ
ναύτῃ δραχμὴν Ἀττικήν, διδάσκοντες ὅτι, ἂν
οὗτος ὁ μισθὸς γένηται, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦται
ἀπολείψουσι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ μείω χρήματα ἀνα-
5 λώσει. ὁ δὲ καλῶς μὲν ἔφη αὐτοὺς λέγειν, οὐ
δυνατὸν δ' εἶναι παρ' ἃ βασιλεὺς ἐπέστειλεν
αὐτῷ ἄλλα ποιεῖν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας
οὕτως ἐχούσας, τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἑκάστῃ νηὶ τοῦ

[1] The Attic drachma = about 9*d.* or 18 cents; it was the average wage of an ordinary day-labourer.

[2] Since the war would be brought to a speedy conclusion, the Athenian sailors going over to the Lacedaemonian fleet for the sake of the higher wage.

remaining there a few days, sailed to Samos, and 407 B.C. from Samos as a base prosecuted the war.

V. Not long before this the Lacedaemonians had sent out Lysander as admiral, since Cratesippidas' term of office had expired. And after Lysander had arrived at Rhodes and secured some ships there, he sailed to Cos and Miletus, and from there to Ephesus, where he remained with seventy ships until Cyrus arrived at Sardis. On his arrival Lysander went up to visit him, accompanied by the ambassadors from Lacedaemon. Then and there they told Cyrus of the deeds of which Tissaphernes had been guilty, and begged him to show the utmost zeal in the war. Cyrus replied that this was what his father had instructed him to do, and that he had no other intention himself, but would do everything possible; he had brought with him, he said, five hundred talents; if this amount should prove insufficient, he would use his own money, which his father had given him; and if this too should prove inadequate, he would go so far as to break up the throne whereon he sat, which was of silver and gold. The ambassadors thanked him, and urged him to make the wage of each sailor an Attic drachma[1] a day, explaining that if this were made the rate, the sailors of the Athenian fleet would desert their ships, and hence he would spend less money.[2] He replied that their plan was a good one, but that it was not possible for him to act contrary to the King's instructions; besides, the original compact ran in this way, that the King should give thirty minae[3] per month to

[3] A mina = 100 drachmae = 600 obols. A ship's crew normally numbered 200 men; hence 30 minae per month per ship = 3 obols per day per man.

μηνὸς διδόναι, ὁπόσας ἂν βούλωνται τρέφειν
6 Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τότε μὲν ἐσιώ-
πησε· μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ προπιὼν
ὁ Κῦρος ἤρετο τί ἂν μάλιστα χαρίζοιτο ποιῶν,
εἶπεν ὅτι Εἰ πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν ἑκάστῳ ναύτῃ
7 ὀβολὸν προσθείης. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τέτταρες ὀβολοὶ
ἦν ὁ μισθός, πρότερον δὲ τριώβολον. καὶ τόν τε
προοφειλόμενον ἀπέδωκε καὶ ἔτι μηνὸς προέδωκεν,
ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ προθυμότερον εἶναι.
8 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἀθύμως μὲν
εἶχον, ἔπεμπον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον πρέσβεις διὰ
9 Τισσαφέρνους. ὁ δὲ οὐ προσεδέχετο, δεομένου
Τισσαφέρνους καὶ λέγοντος, ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίει
πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου, σκοπεῖν ὅπως τῶν
Ἑλλήνων μηδὲ οἵτινες ἰσχυροὶ ὦσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες
ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτοὶ ἐν αὑτοῖς στασιάζοντες.
10 Καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικὸν
συνετέτακτο, ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ οὔσας
ναῦς ἐνενήκοντα ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, ἐπισκευάζων καὶ
11 ἀναψύχων αὐτάς. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Θρα-
σύβουλον ἔξω Ἑλλησπόντου ἥκοντ' ἀποτειχίζειν
Φώκαιαν διέπλευσε πρὸς αὐτόν, καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ
ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἀντίοχον τὸν αὑτοῦ κυβερνήτην,
ἐπιστείλας μὴ ἐπιπλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς Λυσάνδρου ναῦς.
12 ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῇ τε αὑτοῦ νηὶ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐκ
Νοτίου εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων εἰσπλεύσας
παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πρῴρας τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν
13 παρέπλει. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγας
τῶν νεῶν καθελκύσας ἐδίωκεν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ

each ship, whatever number of ships the Lacedaemonians might wish to maintain. Lysander accordingly dropped the matter for the moment; but after dinner, when Cyrus drank his health and asked him by what act he could gratify him most, Lysander replied: "By adding an obol to the pay of each sailor." And from this time forth the wage was four obols, whereas it had previously been three. Cyrus also settled the arrears of pay and gave them a month's wage in advance besides, so that the men of the fleet were much more zealous. Now when the Athenians heard of this, they were despondent, and sent ambassadors to Cyrus through Tissaphernes. Cyrus, however, would not receive them, although Tissaphernes urged him to do so and advised him to see to it that no single Greek state should become strong, but that all be kept weak through constant quarrelling among themselves,—the policy he himself had followed on the advice of Alcibiades.[1] 407 B.C.

As for Lysander, when he had finished organising his fleet, he hauled ashore the ships which were at Ephesus, now ninety in number, and kept quiet, while the ships were being dried out and repaired. Meantime Alcibiades, hearing that Thrasybulus had come out from the Hellespont and was investing Phocaea, sailed across to see him, leaving in command of the fleet Antiochus, the pilot of his own ship, with orders not to attack Lysander's ships. Antiochus, however, with his own ship and one other sailed from Notium into the harbour of Ephesus and coasted along past the very prows of Lysander's ships.[2] Lysander at first launched a few ships and pursued him, but when the Athenians came to the

[1] *cp.* Thuc. 8. 46.

[2] On this incident see Plutarch, *Alc.* 35.

Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ ἐβοήθουν πλείοσι ναυσί,
τότε δή[1] καὶ πάσας συντάξας ἐπέπλει. μετὰ δὲ
ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Νοτίου καθελκύ-
σαντες τὰς λοιπὰς τριήρεις ἀνήχθησαν, ὡς ἕκα-
14 στος ἤνοιξεν.[2] ἐκ τούτου δ' ἐναυμάχησαν οἱ μὲν
ἐν τάξει, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσπαρμέναις ταῖς
ναυσί, μέχρι οὗ ἔφυγον ἀπολέσαντες πεντεκαί-
δεκα τριήρεις. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι
ἐξέφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐζωγρήθησαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ τάς
τε ναῦς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τροπαῖον στήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ
Νοτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἔφεσον, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι
15 εἰς Σάμον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐλθὼν
εἰς Σάμον ἀνήχθη ταῖς ναυσὶν ἁπάσαις ἐπὶ τὸν
λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος
παρέταξεν, εἴ τις βούλοιτο ναυμαχεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ
Λύσανδρος οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε διὰ τὸ πολλαῖς ναυσὶν
ἐλαττοῦσθαι, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον. Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον αἱροῦσι Δελφίνιον καὶ
Ἠιόνα.[3]
16 Οἱ δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἠγγέλθη ἡ
ναυμαχία, χαλεπῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, οἰό-
μενοι δι' ἀμέλειάν τε καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολωλεκέναι
τὰς ναῦς, καὶ στρατηγοὺς εἵλοντο ἄλλους δέκα,
Κόνωνα, Διομέδοντα, Λέοντα,[4] Περικλέα, Ἐρασι-
νίδην, Ἀριστοκράτην, Ἀρχέστρατον, Πρωτόμα-
17 χον, Θράσυλλον, Ἀριστογένην. Ἀλκιβιάδης
μὲν οὖν πονήρως καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ φερόμενος,
λαβὼν τριήρη μίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Χερρόνησον
18 εἰς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τείχη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κόνων ἐκ

1 δή : Kel. here assumes a lacuna.
2 ἤνοιξεν MSS.: ἤνυσεν Kel. 3 Ἠιόνα MSS.: Τέων Kel.
4 Λέοντα MSS.: Λυσίαν Kel.

aid of Antiochus with more ships, he then formed into line of battle every ship he had and sailed against them. Thereupon the Athenians also launched the rest of their triremes at Notium and set out, as each one got a clear course. From that moment they fell to fighting, the one side in good order, but the Athenians with their ships scattered, and fought until the Athenians took to flight, after losing fifteen triremes. As for the men upon them, the greater part escaped, but some were taken prisoners. Then Lysander, after taking possession of his prizes and setting up a trophy at Notium, sailed across to Ephesus, while the Athenians went to Samos. After this Alcibiades came to Samos, set sail with all his ships to the harbour of Ephesus, and formed the fleet in line at the mouth of the harbour as a challenge to battle, in case anyone cared to fight. But when Lysander did not sail out against him, because his fleet was considerably inferior in numbers, Alcibiades sailed back to Samos. And a little later the Lacedaemonians captured Delphinium and Eïon. 407 B.C.

When the Athenians at home got the news of the battle at Notium, they were angry with Alcibiades, thinking that he had lost the ships through neglect of duty and dissolute conduct, and they chose ten new generals, Conon, Diomedon, Leon, Pericles, Erasinides, Aristocrates, Archestratus, Protomachus, Thrasyllus, and Aristogenes. So Alcibiades, who was in disfavour with the army as well, took a trireme and sailed away to his castle[1] in the Chersonese. After this Conon set sail from Andros, with

[1] Which he had constructed, says Plutarch (*Alc.* 36), to serve him as a place of refuge in case of possible trouble.

τῆς Ἄνδρου σὺν αἷς εἶχε ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων εἰς Σάμον ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. ἀντὶ δὲ Κόνωνος εἰς Ἄνδρον ἔπεμψαν
19 Φανοσθένην, τέτταρας ναῦς ἔχοντα. οὗτος περιτυχὼν δυοῖν τριήροιν Θουρίαιν ἔλαβεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἅπαντας ἔδησαν Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Δωριέα, ὄντα μὲν Ῥόδιον, πάλαι δὲ φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατεψηφισμένων αὐτοῦ θάνατον καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν, πολιτεύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐλεήσαντες ἀφεῖσαν οὐδὲ
20 χρήματα πραξάμενοι. Κόνων δ' ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν Σάμον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν κατέλαβεν ἀθύμως ἔχον, συμπληρώσας τριήρεις ἑβδομήκοντα ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων, οὐσῶν πλέον ἢ ἑκατόν, καὶ ταύταις ἀναγαγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ ἀποβαίνων τῆς τῶν πολεμίων χώρας ἐλῄζετο.

21 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰς Σικελίαν στρατεύσαντες εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τριήρεσι καὶ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς δώδεκα μυριάσιν εἷλον Ἀκράγαντα λιμῷ, μάχῃ μὲν ἡττηθέντες, προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ ἑπτὰ μῆνας.[1]

VI. Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ᾧ ἥ τε σελήνη ἐξέλιπεν ἑσπέρας καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη, Πιτύα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθήνησιν,[2] οἱ Λακεδαι-

[1] This paragraph is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on i. 37.

[2] ᾧ . . . Ἀθήνησιν is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on ii. 1.

the twenty ships which he had, to Samos, there to assume command of the fleet in accordance with the vote which the Athenians had passed. They also sent Phanosthenes to Andros, with four ships, to replace Conon. On the way Phanosthenes fell in with two Thurian triremes and captured them, crews and all; and the men who were thus taken were all imprisoned by the Athenians, but their commander, Dorieus, a Rhodian by birth, but some time before exiled from both Athens and Rhodes by the Athenians, who had condemned him and his kinsmen to death, and now a citizen of Thurii, they set free without even exacting a ransom, taking pity upon him. When, meanwhile, Conon had arrived at Samos, where he found the Athenian fleet in a state of despondency, he manned with full complements seventy triremes instead of the former number, which was more than a hundred, and setting out with this fleet, in company with the other generals, landed here and there in the enemy's territory and plundered it. 407 B.C.

So the year ended, being the year in which the Carthaginians made an expedition to Sicily with one hundred and twenty triremes and an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and although defeated in battle, starved Acragas into submission after besieging it for seven months.

VI. In the ensuing year—the year in which there was an eclipse of the moon one evening, and the old temple[1] of Athena at Athens was burned, Pityas being now ephor at Sparta and Callias archon at Athens— 406 B.C.

[1] On the Acropolis. On its identity see D'Oogie, *Acropolis of Athens*, Appendix III.

μόνιοι τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος ἤδη τοῦ
χρόνου καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν
2 ἐτῶν[1] ἔπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν. ὅτε
δὲ παρεδίδου ὁ Λύσανδρος τὰς ναῦς, ἔλεγε τῷ
Καλλικρατίδᾳ ὅτι θαλαττοκράτωρ τε παραδιδοίη
καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ νενικηκώς. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν
ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Σάμου παραπλεύσαντα,
οὗ ἦσαν αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες,[2] ἐν Μιλήτῳ
παραδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ὁμολογήσειν θαλαττο-
3 κρατεῖν. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου πολυ-
πραγμονεῖν ἄλλου ἄρχοντος, αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλι-
κρατίδας πρὸς αἷς παρὰ Λυσάνδρου ἔλαβε ναυσὶ
προσεπλήρωσεν ἐκ Χίου καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ ἄλλοθεν
ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πεντήκοντα ναῦς. ταύτας δὲ
πάσας ἀθροίσας, οὔσας τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν,
παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπαντησόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις.
4 καταμαθὼν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων κατα-
στασιαζόμενος, οὐ μόνον ἀπροθύμως ὑπηρετούν-
των, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαθροούντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι
Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέγιστα παραπίπτοιεν ἐν τῷ[3]
διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους, πολλάκις ἀντ' ἐπι-
τηδείων[4] γιγνομένων καὶ ἄρτι ξυνιέντων τὰ
ναυτικὰ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ὡς χρηστέον εὖ[5] γι-
γνωσκόντων ἀπείρους θαλάττης πέμποντες καὶ
ἀγνῶτας τοῖς ἐκεῖ, κινδυνεύοιέν τέ[6] τι παθεῖν
διὰ τοῦτο· ἐκ τούτου δὲ[7] ὁ Καλλικρατίδας συγ-

[1] καὶ . . . ἐτῶν is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on ii. 1.

[2] οὗ . . . νῆες MSS.: Kel. brackets.

[3] τῷ : Kel. inserts ἀεὶ after it.

[4] ἀντ' ἐπιτηδείων Jacobs : ἀνεπιτηδείων MSS., Kel.

[5] εὖ Cobet : οὐ MSS., Kel.

the Lacedaemonians sent Callicratidas to take command of the fleet, since Lysander's term of office had ended (and with it the twenty-fourth year of the war). And when Lysander delivered over the ships, he told Callicratidas that he did so as master of the sea and victor in battle. Callicratidas, however, bade him coast along from Ephesus on the left of Samos, where the Athenian ships were, and deliver over the fleet at Miletus; then, he said, he would grant him that he was master of the sea. But when Lysander replied that he would not meddle when another was commander, Callicratidas, left to himself, manned with sailors from Chios and Rhodes and other allied states fifty ships in addition to those which he had received from Lysander. And after assembling the entire fleet, a total of one hundred and forty ships, he prepared to meet the enemy. But when he found out that Lysander's friends were intriguing against him,—they not only rendered half-hearted service, but also spread the report in the cities that the Lacedaemonians made a serious mistake in changing their admirals; for in place of men who were proving themselves fit and were just coming to understand naval matters and knew well how to deal with men, they frequently sent out men who were unacquainted with the sea and unknown to the people near the seat of war; and there was danger, they said, of their meeting with disaster on this account,—after hearing of all this Callicratidas called together the 406 B.C.

[6] τε inserted by Laves: Kel. follows the MSS., but brackets ἀπείρους . . . τοῦτο. Other editors emend in various ways.

[7] δὲ MSS.: δὴ Kel.

καλέσας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκεῖ παρόντας ἔλε-
γεν αὐτοῖς τοιάδε.
5 Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ οἴκοι μένειν, καὶ εἴτε Λύσανδρος
εἴτε ἄλλος τις ἐμπειρότερος περὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ
βούλεται εἶναι, οὐ κωλύω τὸ κατ' ἐμέ· ἐγὼ δ'
ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς πεμφθεὶς οὐκ ἔχω
τί ἄλλο ποιῶ ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι
κράτιστα. ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἃ ἐγώ τε φιλοτιμοῦμαι
καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν αἰτιάζεται, ἴστε γὰρ αὐτὰ
ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγώ, συμβουλεύετε τὰ ἄριστα ὑμῖν
δοκοῦντα εἶναι περὶ τοῦ ἐμὲ ἐνθάδε μένειν ἢ
οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν ἐροῦντα τὰ καθεστῶτα ἐνθάδε.
6 Οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμήσαντος ἄλλο τι εἰπεῖν ἢ τοῖς
οἴκοι πείθεσθαι ποιεῖν τε ἐφ' ἃ ἥκει, ἐλθὼν παρὰ
Κῦρον ᾔτει μισθὸν τοῖς ναύταις· ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ εἶπε
7 δύο ἡμέρας ἐπισχεῖν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἀχθε-
σθεὶς τῇ ἀναβολῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας
φοιτήσεσιν ὀργισθεὶς καὶ εἰπὼν ἀθλιωτάτους
εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅτι βαρβάρους κολακεύ-
ουσιν ἕνεκα ἀργυρίου, φάσκων τε, ἂν σωθῇ οἴκαδε,
κατά γε τὸ αὑτοῦ δυνατὸν διαλλάξειν Ἀθηναίους
καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Μίλητον·
8 κἀκεῖθεν πέμψας τριήρεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπὶ
χρήματα, ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσας τῶν Μιλησίων
τάδε εἶπεν.

Ἐμοὶ μέν, ὦ Μιλήσιοι, ἀνάγκη τοῖς οἴκοι ἄρ-
χουσι πείθεσθαι· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀξιῶ προθυμο-
τάτους εἶναι εἰς τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὸ οἰκοῦντας ἐν
βαρβάροις πλεῖστα κακὰ ἤδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπον-

Lacedaemonians who were there and addressed them as follows: 406 B.C.

"I, for my part, am content to stay at home, and if Lysander or anyone else professes to be more experienced in naval affairs, I will not stand in his way so far as I am concerned; but it is I who have been sent by the state to command the fleet, and I cannot do otherwise than obey my orders to the best of my power. As for you, in view of the ambition which I cherish and the criticisms which our state incurs,—and you know them as well as I do,—give me whatever advice seems to you best on the question of my remaining here or sailing back home to report the conditions which exist here."

Since no one dared to propose anything else than that he should obey the authorities at home and do the work for which he had come, he went to Cyrus and asked for pay for the sailors; Cyrus, however, told him to wait for two days. But Callicratidas, indignant at being thus put off and driven to anger by having to dance attendance at his gates, declaring that the Greeks were in a sorry plight, toadying to barbarians for the sake of money, and saying that if he reached home in safety he would do his best to reconcile the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians, sailed away to Miletus; and after despatching triremes from there to Lacedaemon to get money, he gathered the Milesians in assembly and spoke as follows:

"Upon me, men of Miletus, lies the necessity of obeying the authorities at home; and as for you, I claim that you should show the utmost zeal in this war, because you dwell among barbarians and in the past have suffered very many

9 θέναι. δεῖ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις
συμμάχοις ὅπως ἂν τάχιστά τε καὶ μάλιστα
βλάπτωμεν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἕως ἂν οἱ ἐκ Λακε-
δαίμονος ἥκωσιν, οὓς ἐγὼ ἔπεμψα χρήματα ἄξον-
10 τας, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα Λύσανδρος Κύρῳ
ἀποδοὺς ὡς περιττὰ ὄντα οἴχεται· Κῦρος δὲ
ἐλθόντος ἐμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ἀνεβάλλετό μοι
διαλεχθῆναι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου θύρας φοιτᾶν
11 οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ἐμαυτὸν πεῖσαι. ὑπισχνοῦμαι δ'
ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τῷ
χρόνῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐκεῖνα προσδεχώμεθα χάριν ἀξίαν
ἀποδώσειν. ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δείξωμεν[1] τοῖς
βαρβάροις ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐκείνους θαυμάζειν
δυνάμεθα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι.
12 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἀνιστάμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ
μάλιστα οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι δεδιότες
εἰσηγοῦντο πόρον χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγελ-
λόμενοι ἰδίᾳ. λαβὼν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐκ
Χίου πεντεδραχμίαν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ναυτῶν ἐφοδια-
σάμενος ἔπλευσε τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ Μήθυμναν
13 πολεμίαν οὖσαν. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Μη-
θυμναίων προσχωρεῖν, ἀλλ'[2] ἐμφρούρων ὄντων
Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχόντων ἀττι-
κιζόντων, προσβαλὼν αἱρεῖ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ
14 κράτος. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα πάντα διήρπασαν
οἱ στρατιῶται, τὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα πάντα συνή-
θροισεν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ
κελευόντων τῶν συμμάχων ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς
Μηθυμναίους οὐκ ἔφη ἑαυτοῦ γε ἄρχοντος οὐδένα[3]

[1] δείξωμεν MSS. except V: δείξομεν V and Kel.
[2] ἀλλ' MSS.: ἅτ' Kel.
[3] οὐδένα MSS.: οὐδέν' ἂν Kel.

ills at their hands. And you should as leaders show the other allies how we may inflict the utmost harm upon the enemy in the shortest time, until the people return from Lacedaemon whom I have sent thither to get money; for the money which Lysander had on hand he gave back to Cyrus, as though it were unneeded surplus, and went his way; and as for Cyrus, whenever I visited him he invariably put off giving me an audience, and I could not bring myself to dance attendance at his gates. But I promise you that for whatever good results we achieve while we are waiting for the funds from Sparta I will make you an adequate return. Let us then, with the help of the gods, show the barbarians that even without paying court to them we can punish our enemies." 406 B.C.

When he had said this, many arose, particularly those who were accused of opposing him, and in alarm proposed a grant of money, offering private contributions as well. And taking this money and supplying from Chios a payment of five drachmae apiece for his seamen, he sailed against Methymna, in Lesbos, which was hostile. And when the Methymnaeans refused to surrender,—for there was an Athenian garrison in the place and those who had control of the government were partisans of Athens,—Callicratidas attacked the city and captured it by storm. All the property which it contained the soldiers seized as booty, but all the captives Callicratidas assembled in the market-place; and when his allies urged him to sell into slavery the Methymnaeans as well as the Athenians, he said that while

Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατὸν[1] ἀνδραποδι-
15 σθῆναι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα πάντα ἀπέδοτο· Κόνωνι δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι παύσει αὐτὸν μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλατταν. κατιδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναγόμενον ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐδίωκεν ὑποτεμνόμενος τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν,
16 ὅπως μὴ ἐκεῖσε φύγοι.[2] Κόνων δ' ἔφευγε ταῖς ναυσὶν εὖ πλεούσαις διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν πληρωμάτων εἰς ὀλίγας ἐκλελέχθαι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας, καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς Λέσβου καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν Λέων[3] καὶ Ἐρασινίδης. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα, διώκων ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδο-
17 μήκοντα. Κόνων δὲ ὡς ἔφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατακωλυθείς, ἠναγκάσθη ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, καὶ ἀπώλεσε ναῦς τριάκοντα· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφυγον· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν, τετταράκοντα οὔσας, ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἀνείλκυσε.
18 Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὁρμισάμενος ἐπολιόρκει ἐνταῦθα, τὸν ἔκπλουν ἔχων. καὶ κατὰ γῆν μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μηθυμναίους πανδημεὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὸ στράτευμα διεβίβασε· χρήματά τε παρὰ Κύρου αὐτῷ ἦλθεν.

19 Ὁ δὲ Κόνων ἐπεὶ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ σίτων οὐδαμόθεν ἦν

[1] εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατὸν Dindorf: εἰς τὸ κείνου (or 'κείνου) δυνατὸν MSS. Kel. follows the MS. reading, but brackets the phrase.

[2] ὅπως . . φύγοι MSS.: Kel. brackets.

[3] Λέων MSS.: Kel. regards the reading as corrupt. See on v. 16.

he was commander no Greek should be enslaved if 406 B.C.
he could help it. Accordingly on the next day he let the Methymnaeans go free, but sold the members of the Athenian garrison[1] and such of the captives as were slaves; then he sent word to Conon that he would put a stop to his playing the wanton with his bride, the sea. And when he caught sight of Conon putting out to sea at daybreak, he pursued him, aiming to cut off his course to Samos, so that he could not direct his flight thither. Conon's ships, however, made good speed as he fled, because the best oarsmen had been picked out of a great many crews and assembled in a few; in the end he sought refuge in the harbour of Mytilene, in Lesbos, and with him two more of the ten generals, Leon and Erasinides. But Callicratidas, pursuing with one hundred and seventy ships, sailed into the harbour simultaneously. And Conon, thwarted in his plan by the enemy's swiftness, was forced to give battle at the mouth of the harbour and lost thirty ships; their crews, however, escaped to the land; and the remainder of his ships, forty in number, he drew up on shore under the wall of the city. Thereupon Callicratidas anchored in the harbour and blockaded him on that side, holding the outlet to the sea. As for the land side, he summoned the Methymnaeans to come to his aid with their entire force and brought over his army from Chios; and money came to him from Cyrus.

When Conon found himself blockaded both by land and by sea, and was unable to procure provisions

[1] *i.e.* Callicratidas agrees with his allies in regarding the sale of the *Athenians* as a matter of course. What he objected to was the enslaving of the inhabitants of captured towns which had chanced to be in possession of the Athenians.

εὐπορῆσαι, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἐβοήθουν διὰ τὸ μὴ
πυνθάνεσθαι ταῦτα, καθελκύσας τῶν νεῶν τὰς
ἄριστα πλεούσας δύο ἐπλήρωσε πρὸ ἡμέρας, ἐξ
ἁπασῶν τῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας ἐκλέξας
καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας εἰς κοίλην ναῦν μεταβιβάσας
20 καὶ τὰ παραρύματα παραβαλών. τὴν μὲν οὖν
ἡμέραν οὕτως ἀνεῖχον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἑσπέραν, ἐπεὶ
σκότος εἴη, ἐξεβίβαζεν, ὡς μὴ καταδήλους εἶναι
τοῖς πολεμίοις ταῦτα ποιοῦντας. πέμπτῃ δὲ
ἡμέρᾳ εἰσθέμενοι σῖτα μέτρια, ἐπειδὴ ἤδη μέσον
ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐφορμοῦντες ὀλιγώρως εἶχον καὶ
ἔνιοι ἀνεπαύοντο, ἐξέπλευσαν ἔξω τοῦ λιμένος,
καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ὥρμησεν, ἡ δὲ εἰς
21 τὸ πέλαγος. τῶν δ᾽ ἐφορμούντων ὡς ἕκαστοι
ἤνοιγον,[1] τάς τε ἀγκύρας ἀποκόπτοντες καὶ
ἐγειρόμενοι,[2] ἐβοήθουν τεταραγμένοι, τυχόντες ἐν
τῇ γῇ ἀριστοποιούμενοι· εἰσβάντες δὲ ἐδίωκον
τὴν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφορμήσασαν, καὶ ἅμα τῷ
ἡλίῳ δύνοντι κατέλαβον, καὶ κρατήσαντες μάχῃ,
ἀναδησάμενοι ἀπῆγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς
22 ἀνδράσιν. ἡ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φυγοῦσα
ναῦς διέφυγε, καὶ ἀφικομένη εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας
ἐξαγγέλλει τὴν πολιορκίαν. Διομέδων δὲ βοηθῶν
Κόνωνι πολιορκουμένῳ δώδεκα ναυσὶν ὡρμίσατο
23 εἰς τὸν εὔριπον τὸν τῶν Μυτιληναίων. ὁ δὲ
Καλλικρατίδας ἐπιπλεύσας αὐτῷ ἐξαίφνης δέκα
μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἔλαβε, Διομέδων δ᾽ ἔφυγε τῇ τε
αὑτοῦ καὶ ἄλλῃ.

[1] ἤνοιγον MSS.: ἤνυτον Kel.
[2] ἐγειρόμενοι MSS.: ἐπειγόμενοι Kel.

from anywhere,—and the people in the city were many, and the Athenians could not come to his aid because they had not learned of these events,—he launched two of his fastest ships and manned them before daybreak, picking out the best oarsmen from his whole fleet, shifting the marines to the hold of the ships, and setting up the side screens.[1] They continued in this way through the day, but each evening he had them disembark when darkness came on, so that the enemy might not perceive that they were so doing. On the fifth day they put on board a moderate quantity of provisions, and when it came to be midday and the blockaders were careless and some of them asleep, they rowed out of the harbour, and one of the ships set out for the Hellespont and the other to the open sea. And the blockaders, as they severally got their ships clear of one another, cutting away their anchors and rousing themselves from sleep, hastened to the pursuit in confusion, for it chanced that they had been breakfasting on the shore; and when they had embarked, they pursued the vessel which had made for the open sea, and at sunset they overhauled her and, after capturing her in battle, took her in tow and brought her back, men and all, to their fleet. But the ship which fled toward the Hellespont escaped, and on its arrival at Athens reported the blockade. Meanwhile Diomedon, seeking to aid Conon, blockaded as he was, anchored with twelve ships in the strait of Mytilene. Callicratidas, however, sailed down upon him suddenly and captured ten of his ships, Diomedon escaping with his own ship and one other. 406 B.C.

[1] Temporary screens set up along the bulwarks, ordinarily serving for protection against missiles, here for concealment.

24 Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πολι-
ορκίαν ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν, ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν ναυσὶν
ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα, εἰσβιβάζοντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ
ὄντας ἅπαντας καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους· καὶ
πληρώσαντες τὰς δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τριάκοντα
ἡμέραις ἀπῆραν. εἰσέβησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων
25 πολλοί. μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σάμον, κἀ-
κεῖθεν Σαμίας ναῦς ἔλαβον δέκα· ἤθροισαν δὲ καὶ
ἄλλας πλείους ἢ τριάκοντα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων
συμμάχων, εἰσβαίνειν ἀναγκάσαντες ἅπαντας,
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον ἔξω οὖσαι.
ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι πλείους ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ
26 ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἀκούων τὴν βοή-
θειαν ἤδη ἐν Σάμῳ οὖσαν, αὐτοῦ μὲν κατέλιπε
πεντήκοντα ναῦς καὶ ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ταῖς
δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀναχθεὶς ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο
27 τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρᾳ.[1] τῇ δ' αὐτῇ
ἡμέρᾳ ἔτυχον καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δειπνοποιούμενοι
ἐν ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις. αὗται δ' εἰσὶν[2] ἀντίον τῆς
28 Μυτιλήνης. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἰδὼν τὰ πυρά, καί
τινων αὐτῷ ἐξαγγειλάντων ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶεν,
ἀνήγετο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ὡς ἐξαπιναίως προσ-
πέσοι· ὕδωρ δ' ἐπιγενόμενον πολὺ καὶ βρονταὶ
διεκώλυσαν τὴν ἀναγωγήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέσχεν, ἅμα
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀργινούσας.
29 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντανήγοντο εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῷ

[1] The MSS. proceed ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης: Kel. brackets.
[2] The MSS. proceed ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρᾳ: Kel. brackets.

When the Athenians heard of what had happened and of the blockade, they voted to go to the rescue with one hundred and ten ships, putting aboard all who were of military age, whether slave[1] or free; and within thirty days they manned the one hundred and ten ships and set forth. Even the knights[2] went aboard in considerable numbers. After this they sailed to Samos and from there got ten Samian ships; they collected also more than thirty others from the rest of the allies, forcing everybody to embark, and in like manner whatever Athenian ships happened to be abroad. And the total number of the ships came to more than one hundred and fifty. Now Callicratidas, when he heard that the relief expedition was already at Samos, left behind him at Mytilene fifty ships with Eteonicus as commander, and setting sail with the remaining one hundred and twenty, took dinner at Cape Malea in Lesbos. On the same day it chanced that the Athenians took dinner on the Arginusae islands. These lie opposite Mytilene.[3] And when Callicratidas saw their fires during the night and people reported to him that it was the Athenians, he proposed to put to sea at about midnight, in order to attack them unexpectedly; but a heavy rain coming on, with thunder, prevented the setting out. And when it ceased, he sailed at daybreak for the Arginusae. 406 B.C.

The Athenians stood out to meet him, extending their left wing out to sea and arranged in the

[1] It was only in rare cases that the Athenians employed slaves for military service.

[2] Who were ordinarily exempt from service at sea.

[3] That is, between Lesbos and the mainland of Asia Minor.

εὐωνύμῳ, παρατεταγμένοι ὧδε. Ἀριστοκράτης μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχων ἡγεῖτο πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διομέδων ἑτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Ἀριστοκράτει μὲν Περικλῆς, Διομέδοντι δὲ Ἐρασινίδης· παρὰ δὲ Διομέδοντα οἱ Σάμιοι δέκα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ μιᾶς τεταγμένοι· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Σάμιος ὀνόματι Ἱππεύς· ἐχόμεναι δὲ αἱ τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα, καὶ αὐταὶ ἐπὶ μιᾶς· ἐπὶ δὲ ταύταις αἱ τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς, καὶ εἴ
30 τινες ἄλλαι ἦσαν συμμαχίδες. τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν κέρας Πρωτόμαχος εἶχε πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν Θράσυλλος ἑτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Πρωτομάχῳ μὲν Λυσίας, ἔχων τὰς
31 ἴσας ναῦς, Θρασύλλῳ δ' Ἀριστογένης. οὕτω δ' ἐτάχθησαν, ἵνα μὴ διέκπλουν διδοῖεν· χεῖρον γὰρ ἔπλεον. αἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντιτεταγμέναι ἦσαν ἅπασαι ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὡς πρὸς διέκπλουν καὶ περίπλουν παρεσκευασμέναι, διὰ τὸ βέλτιον πλεῖν. εἶχε δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας Καλλικρατίδας.
32 Ἕρμων δὲ Μεγαρεὺς ὁ τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ κυβερνῶν εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι εἴη καλῶς ἔχον ἀποπλεῦσαι· αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλῷ πλείους ἦσαν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκῆται[1] αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος, φεύγειν δὲ αἰσχρὸν ἔφη εἶναι.
33 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναυμάχησαν χρόνον πολύν,

[1] οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκῆται Blake : οὐ δέος μὴ κάκιον οἰκῆται Kel.: οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκεῖται MSS.

---

[1] Ten taxiarchs, one for each Athenian tribe, commanded the contingents (τάξεις) furnished by their several tribes.

[2] Manifestly subordinate officers, but the precise meaning of the title in the Athenian navy is unknown.

following order: Aristocrates, in command of the 406 B.C. left wing, led the way with fifteen ships, and next in order Diomedon with fifteen more; and Pericles was stationed behind Aristocrates and Erasinides behind Diomedon; and beside Diomedon were the Samians with ten ships, drawn up in single line; and their commander was a Samian named Hippeus; and next to them were the ten ships of the taxiarchs,[1] also in single line; and behind these the three ships of the nauarchs[2] and also some ships from the allies; and the right wing was under the command of Protomachus, with fifteen ships; and beside him was Thrasyllus with fifteen more; and Lysias, with the same number of ships, was stationed behind Protomachus, and Aristogenes behind Thrasyllus. The ships were arranged in this way so as not to give the enemy a chance of breaking through[3] the line; for the Athenians were inferior in seamanship. But all the vessels of the Lacedaemonians were arranged in single line, with a view to breaking through the enemy and circling[3] round him, inasmuch as they had superior seamen. And Callicratidas was on the right wing. Now Hermon the Megarian, the pilot of Callicratidas' ship, said to him that it was well to sail away; for the triremes of the Athenians were far more numerous. Callicratidas, however, said that Sparta would fare none the worse if he were killed, but flight, he said, would be a disgrace.

After this they fell to fighting, and fought for a

[3] The διέκπλους consisted in driving at full speed between two ships of the enemy's line,—breaking oars and inflicting any other possible damage on the way,—and then turning to attack the sterns or sides of the hostile ships. In the περίπλους the same object was accomplished by rowing around the end of the enemy's line.

πρῶτον μὲν ἀθρόαι, ἔπειτα δὲ διεσκεδασμέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας τε ἐμβαλούσης τῆς νεὼς ἀποπεσὼν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἠφανίσθη Πρωτόμαχός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐνίκησαν, ἐντεῦθεν φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο εἰς Χίον, πλείστων δὲ[1] καὶ εἰς Φώκαιαν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργινούσας κατέ-
34 πλευσαν. ἀπώλοντο δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων νῆες πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων τῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσενεχθέντων, τῶν δὲ Πελοποννησίων Λακωνικαὶ μὲν ἐννέα, τῶν πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων συμμάχων πλείους ἢ
35 ἑξήκοντα. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς ἑπτὰ μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ Θηραμένην τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον τριηράρχους ὄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινὰς πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καταδεδυκυίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἐπὶ τὰς μετ' Ἐτεονίκου τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφορμούσας. ταῦτα δὲ βουλομένους ποιεῖν ἄνεμος καὶ χειμὼν διεκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς μέγας γενόμενος· τροπαῖον δὲ στήσαντες αὐτοῦ ηὐλίζοντο.

36 Τῷ δ' Ἐτεονίκῳ ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς κέλης πάντα ἐξήγγειλε τὰ περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰπὼν τοῖς ἐνοῦσι σιωπῇ ἐκπλεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ διαλέγεσθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ αὖθις πλεῖν εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ βοῶντας ὅτι Καλλικρατίδας νενίκηκε ναυμαχῶν καὶ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
37 νῆες ἀπολώλασιν ἅπασαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτ' ἐποίουν· αὐτὸς δ', ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι κατέπλεον, ἔθυε

[1] πλείστων δὲ MSS.: πλείστων, τινῶν δὲ Kel.

long time, their ships at first in close order and afterwards scattered. But when Callicratidas, as his ship rammed an enemy, fell overboard into the sea and disappeared, and Protomachus and those with him on the right wing defeated the opposing Lacedaemonian left, then began a flight of the Peloponnesians to Chios, though very many went to Phocaea; while the Athenians sailed back to the Arginusae. The loss on the Athenian side was twenty-five ships, crews and all, with the exception of a few men who were brought to shore, and on the Peloponnesian side nine Laconian ships, out of a total of ten, and more than sixty ships of the allies. After this victory it was resolved by the Athenian generals that Theramenes and Thrasybulus, who were ship-captains, and some of the taxiarchs, should sail with forty-seven ships to the aid of the disabled vessels and the men on board them, while they themselves went with the rest of the fleet to attack the ships under Eteonicus which were blockading Mytilene. But despite their desire to carry out these measures, the wind and a heavy storm which came on prevented them; accordingly, after setting up a trophy, they bivouacked where they were. 406 B.C.

As for Eteonicus, the dispatch-boat reported to him the whole story of the battle. He, however, sent the boat out again, telling those who were in it to sail out of the harbour in silence and not talk with anyone, and then to sail back immediately to his fleet, wearing garlands and shouting that Callicratidas had been victorious in battle and that all the ships of the Athenians had been destroyed. This they proceeded to do; and when they were sailing in,

τὰ εὐαγγέλια, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις τὰ χρήματα σιωπῇ ἐνθεμένους εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἀποπλεῖν εἰς Χίον (ἦν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὔριον) καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὴν
38 ταχίστην. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὴν Μήθυμναν, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσας. Κόνων δὲ καθελκύσας τὰς ναῦς, ἐπεὶ οἵ τε πολέμιοι ἀπεδεδράκεσαν καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος εὐδιαίτερος ἦν, ἀπαντήσας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἀνηγμένοις ἐκ τῶν Ἀργινουσῶν ἔφρασε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπανήχθησαν εἰς τὴν Χίον, καὶ οὐδὲν διαπραξάμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σάμου.

VII. Οἱ δ' ἐν οἴκῳ τούτους μὲν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔπαυσαν πλὴν Κόνωνος· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ εἵλοντο Ἀδείμαντον καὶ τρίτον Φιλοκλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν Πρωτόμαχος μὲν καὶ Ἀριστογένης οὐκ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν
2 δὲ ἓξ καταπλευσάντων, Περικλέους καὶ Διομέδοντος καὶ Λυσίου καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους καὶ Θρασύλλου καὶ Ἐρασινίδου, Ἀρχέδημος ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε προεστηκὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ τῆς διωβελίας ἐπιμελόμενος Ἐρασινίδῃ ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν κατηγόρει ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, φάσκων ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου αὐτὸν ἔχειν χρήματα ὄντα τοῦ δήμου· κατηγόρει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας. καὶ ἔδοξε τῷ
3 δικαστηρίῳ δῆσαι τὸν Ἐρασινίδην. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διηγοῦντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ περὶ

Eteonicus began to offer sacrifices for the good news, and gave orders that the soldiers should take their dinner, that the traders should put their goods into their boats in silence and sail off to Chios (for the wind was favourable), and that the triremes also should sail thither with all speed. And he himself led his land forces back to Methymna, after setting fire to their camp. Conon now launched his ships, and, since the enemy had stolen away and the wind was quieter, went to meet the Athenians, who had by this time set out from the Arginusae, and told them what Eteonicus had done. The Athenians put in to Mytilene, sailed thence against Chios, and, accomplishing nothing there, sailed back towards Samos. 406 B.C.

VII. Now the people at home deposed the abovementioned generals, with the exception of Conon; and as his colleagues they chose two men, Adeimantus and Philocles. As for those generals who had taken part in the battle, two of them—Protomachus and Aristogenes—did not return to Athens, but when the other six came home—Pericles, Diomedon, Lysias, Aristocrates, Thrasyllus, and Erasinides,—Archedemus, who was at that time a leader of the popular party at Athens and had charge of the two-obol fund,[1] brought accusation against Erasinides before a court and urged that a fine be imposed upon him, claiming that he had in his possession money from the Hellespont which belonged to the people; he accused him, further, of misconduct as general. And the court decreed that Erasinides should be imprisoned. After this the generals made a statement before the Senate in regard to the battle

[1] For the relief of poverty and distress caused by the war, not to be confounded with the theoric fund; see Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, Vol. II. pp. 212 ff.

τε τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ χειμῶνος.
Τιμοκράτους δ' εἰπόντος ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χρὴ
δεθέντας εἰς τὸν δῆμον παραδοθῆναι, ἡ βουλὴ
4 ἔδησε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκλησία ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾗ
τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγόρουν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Θηρα-
μενης μάλιστα, δικαιους εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχεῖν
διότι οὐκ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ναυαγούς. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ
οὐδενὸς ἄλλου καθήπτοντο ἐπιστολὴν ἐπεδείκνυε
μαρτύριον ἣν ἔπεμψαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὴν
βουλὴν καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἄλλο οὐδὲν αἰτιώμενοι
5 ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ
βραχέως ἕκαστος ἀπελογήσατο, οὐ γὰρ προυτέθη
σφίσι λόγος κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα
διηγοῦντο, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους
πλέοιεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν προσ-
τάξαιεν τῶν τριηράρχων ἀνδράσιν ἱκανοῖς καὶ
ἐστρατηγηκόσιν ἤδη, Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ
6 καὶ ἄλλοις τοιούτοις· καὶ εἴπερ γέ τινας δέοι,
περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως οὐδένα ἄλλον ἔχειν αὐτοὺς
αἰτιάσασθαι ἢ τούτους οἷς προσετάχθη. καὶ
οὐχ ὅτι γε κατηγοροῦσιν ἡμῶν, ἔφασαν, ψευσό-
μεθα φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ
μέγεθος τοῦ χειμῶνος εἶναι τὸ κωλῦσαν τὴν
7 ἀναίρεσιν. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρας παρείχοντο τοὺς
κυβερνήτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν συμπλεόντων πολ-
λους. τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἔπειθον τὸν δῆμον·
ἐβούλοντο δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐγγυᾶσθαι
ἀνιστάμενοι· ἔδοξε δὲ ἀναβαλέσθαι εἰς ἑτέραν

and the violence of the storm; and upon motion of Timocrates, that the others also should be imprisoned and turned over to the Assembly for trial, the Senate imprisoned them. After this a meeting of the Assembly was called, at which a number of people, and particularly Theramenes, spoke against the generals, saying that they ought to render an account of their conduct in not picking up the shipwrecked. For as proof that the generals fastened the responsibility upon no person apart from themselves, Theramenes showed a letter which they had sent to the Senate and to the Assembly, in which they put the blame upon nothing but the storm. After this the several generals spoke in their own defence (though briefly, for they were not granted the hearing prescribed by the law) and stated what they had done, saying that they themselves undertook to sail against the enemy and that they assigned the duty of recovering the shipwrecked to certain of the captains who were competent men and had been generals in the past,—Theramenes, Thrasybulus, and others of that sort; and if they had to blame any, they could blame no one else in the matter of the recovery except these men, to whom the duty was assigned. "And we shall not," they added, "just because they accuse us, falsely say that they were to blame, but rather that it was the violence of the storm which prevented the recovery." They offered as witnesses to the truth of these statements the pilots and many others among their ship-companions. With such arguments they were on the point of persuading the Assembly, and many of the citizens rose and wanted to give bail for them; it was decided, however, that the matter should be 406 B.C.

ἐκκλησίαν (τότε γὰρ ὀψὲ ἦν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἂν καθεώρων)· τὴν δὲ βουλὴν προβουλεύσασαν εἰσενεγκεῖν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ οἱ ἄνδρες κρίνοιντο.

8 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο Ἀπατούρια, ἐν οἷς οἵ τε πατέρες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Θηραμένη παρεσκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους μέλανα ἱμάτια ἔχοντας καὶ ἐν χρῷ κεκαρμένους πολλοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἥκοιεν, ὡς δὴ συγγενεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καὶ Καλλίξεινον ἔπεισαν ἐν
9 τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορεῖν τῶν στρατηγῶν. ἐντεῦθεν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίουν, εἰς ἣν ἡ βουλὴ εἰσήνεγκε τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην Καλλιξείνου εἰπόντος τήνδε· Ἐπειδὴ τῶν τε κατηγορούντων κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐκείνων ἀπολογουμένων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκηκόασι, διαψηφίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους ἅπαντας κατὰ φυλάς· θεῖναι δὲ εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ἑκάστην δύο ὑδρίας· ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ δὲ τῇ φυλῇ κήρυκα κηρύττειν, ὅτῳ δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νικήσαντας ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, εἰς τὴν προτέραν ψηφίσασθαι, ὅτῳ
10 δὲ μή, εἰς τὴν ὑστέραν· ἂν δὲ δόξωσιν ἀδικεῖν, θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι καὶ τοῖς ἕνδεκα παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημεῦσαι, τὸ δ' ἐπιδέκατον τῆς

---

[1] Athenian procedure required in general that a matter should first be considered by the Senate, whose προβούλευμα, or preliminary resolution, was then referred to the Assembly for final action.

[2] A family festival, at which the members of each Athenian clan gathered together.

postponed to another meeting of the Assembly (for by that time it was late in the day and they could not have distinguished the hands in the voting), and that the Senate should draft and bring in a proposal[1] regarding the manner in which the men should be tried. 406 B.C.

After this the Apaturia[2] was celebrated, at which fathers and kinsmen meet together. Accordingly Theramenes and his supporters arranged at this festival with a large number of people, who were clad in mourning garments and had their hair close shaven, to attend the meeting of the Assembly, pretending that they were kinsmen of those who had perished, and they bribed Callixeinus to accuse the generals in the Senate. Then they called an Assembly, at which the Senate brought in its proposal, which Callixeinus had drafted in the following terms: "Resolved, that since the Athenians have heard in the previous meeting of the Assembly both the accusers who brought charges against the generals and the generals speaking in their own defence, they do now one and all cast their votes by tribes; and that two urns be set at the voting-place of each tribe; and that in each tribe a herald proclaim that whoever adjudges the generals guilty, for not picking up the men who won the victory in the naval battle, shall cast his vote in the first urn, and whoever adjudges them not guilty, shall cast his vote in the second; and if they be adjudged guilty, that they be punished with death and handed over to the Eleven,[3] and that their property be confiscated and the tenth thereof belong

[3] A Board which had charge of condemned prisoners and of the execution of the death sentence.

11 θεοῦ εἶναι. παρῆλθε δέ τις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαν
φάσκων ἐπὶ τεύχους ἀλφίτων σωθῆναι· ἐπιστέλ-
λειν δ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους, ἐὰν σωθῇ, ἀπαγ-
γεῖλαι τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο
τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γενομένους.
12 τὸν δὲ Καλλίξεινον προσεκαλέσαντο παράνομα
φάσκοντες συγγεγραφέναι Εὐρυπτόλεμός τε ὁ
Πεισιάνακτος καὶ ἄλλοι τινές. τοῦ δὲ δήμου
ἔνιοι ταῦτα ἐπῄνουν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐβόα δεινὸν
εἶναι, εἰ μή τις ἐάσει τὸν δῆμον πράττειν ὃ ἂν
13 βούληται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπόντος Λυκίσκου
καὶ τούτους τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι ᾗπερ καὶ
τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐὰν μὴ ἀφῶσι τὴν κλῆσιν,
ἐπεθορύβησε πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος, καὶ ἠναγκάσθησαν
14 ἀφιέναι τὰς κλήσεις. τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεών τινων
οὐ φασκόντων προθήσειν τὴν διαψήφισιν παρὰ
τὸν νόμον, αὖθις Καλλίξεινος ἀναβὰς κατηγόρει
αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά. οἱ δὲ ἐβόων καλεῖν τοὺς οὐ
15 φάσκοντας. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις φοβηθέντες ὡμολό-
γουν πάντες προθήσειν πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ
Σωφρονίσκου· οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ
16 νόμον πάντα ποιήσειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβὰς
Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔλεξεν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατηγῶν τάδε.

Τὰ μὲν κατηγορήσων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
ἀνέβην ἐνθάδε Περικλέους ἀναγκαίου μοι ὄντος

---

[1] Athena, the state deity, into whose treasury a tenth part of the revenue derived from confiscations was regularly paid.

[2] An executive committee of the Senate, who presided over the meetings of both Senate and Assembly.

to the goddess."[1] And there came before the Assembly a man who said that he had been saved by floating upon a meal-tub, and that those who were perishing charged him to report to the people, if he were saved, that the generals did not pick up the men who had proved themselves most brave in the service of their country. Now Euryptolemus, the son of Peisianax, and some others served a summons upon Callixeinus, alleging that he had made an unconstitutional proposal. And some of the people applauded this act, but the greater number cried out that it was monstrous if the people were to be prevented from doing whatever they wished. Indeed, when Lyciscus thereupon moved that these men also should be judged by the very same vote as the generals, unless they withdrew the summons, the mob broke out again with shouts of approval, and they were compelled to withdraw the summonses. Furthermore, when some of the Prytanes[2] refused to put the question to the vote in violation of the law, Callixeinus again mounted the platform[3] and urged the same charge against them; and the crowd cried out to summon to court those who refused. Then the Prytanes, stricken with fear, agreed to put the question,—all of them except Socrates,[4] the son of Sophroniscus; and he said that in no case would he act except in accordance with the law. After this Euryptolemus mounted the platform and spoke as follows in defence of the generals: 406 B.C.

"I have come to the platform, men of Athens, partly to accuse Pericles, though he is my kinsman

[3] *i.e.* the βῆμα.

[4] On Socrates' conduct at this time *cp.* Plato, *Apol.* 32 B and Xen. *Mem.* I. i. 18.

καὶ ἐπιτηδείου καὶ Διομέδοντος φίλου, τὰ δ'
ὑπεραπολογησόμενος, τὰ δὲ συμβουλεύσων ἅ μοι
17 δοκεῖ ἄριστα εἶναι ἁπάσῃ τῇ πόλει. κατηγορῶ
μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ὅτι μετέπεισαν τοὺς συνάρχοντας
βουλομένους πέμπειν γράμματα τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ
ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπέταξαν τῷ Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβού-
λῳ τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ τριήρεσιν ἀνελέσθαι
18 τοὺς ναυαγούς, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο. εἶτα νῦν
τὴν αἰτίαν κοινὴν ἔχουσιν ἐκείνων ἰδίᾳ ἁμαρτόν-
των, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς τότε φιλανθρωπίας νῦν ὑπ'
ἐκείνων τε καί τινων ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενοι
19 κινδυνεύουσιν ἀπολέσθαι; οὔκ, ἂν ὑμεῖς γέ μοι
πείθησθε[1] τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὅσια ποιοῦντες, καὶ ὅθεν
μάλιστ' ἀληθῆ πεύσεσθε καὶ οὐ μετανοήσαντες
ὕστερον εὑρήσετε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας τὰ
μέγιστα εἰς θεούς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. συμβου-
λεύω δ' ὑμῖν, ἐν οἷς οὔθ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ οὔθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου
οὐδενὸς ἔστιν ἐξαπατηθῆναι ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἀδι-
κοῦντας εἰδότες κολάσεσθε ᾗ ἂν βούλησθε δίκῃ,
καὶ ἅμα πάντας καὶ καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον, εἰ μὴ
πλέον, ἀλλὰ κἂν μίαν ἡμέραν δόντες αὐτοῖς
ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν ἀπολογήσασθαι, μὴ ἄλλοις μᾶλλον
20 πιστεύοντες ἢ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. ἴστε δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντες ὅτι τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμά
ἐστιν ἰσχυρότατον, ὃ κελεύει, ἐάν τις τὸν τῶν
Ἀθηναίων δῆμον ἀδικῇ, δεδεμένον ἀποδικεῖν ἐν
τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐὰν καταγνωσθῇ ἀδικεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν

[1] πείθησθε MSS.: πίθησθε Kel.

and intimate, and Diomedon, who is my friend, partly 406 B.C.
to speak in their defence, and partly to advise the measures which seem to me to be best for the state as a whole. I accuse them, because they persuaded their colleagues to change their purpose when they wanted to send a letter to the Senate and to you, in which they stated that they assigned to Theramenes and Thrasybulus, with forty-seven triremes, the duty of picking up the shipwrecked, and that they failed to perform this duty. Such being the case, are these generals to share the blame now with Theramenes and Thrasybulus, although it was those alone who blundered, and are they now, in return for the humanity they showed then, to be put in hazard of their lives through the machinations of those men and certain others? No! at least not if you take my advice and follow the just and righteous course, the course which will best enable you to learn the truth and to avoid finding out hereafter, to your sorrow, that it is you yourselves who have sinned most grievously, not only against the gods, but against yourselves. The advice I give you is such that, if you follow it, you cannot be deceived either by me or by anyone else, and that with full knowledge you will punish the guilty with whatever punishment you may desire, either all of them together or each one separately, namely, by first granting them at least one day, if not more, to speak in their own defence, and by putting your trust, not so much in others, but in yourselves. Now you all know, men of Athens, that the decree of Cannonus is exceedingly severe: it provides that if anyone shall wrong the people of Athens, he shall plead his case in fetters before the people, and if he be adjudged

εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα
αὐτοῦ δημευθῆναι καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον
21 εἶναι. κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα κελεύω κρίνεσθαι
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ νὴ Δία, ἂν ὑμῖν γε δοκῇ,
πρῶτον Περικλέα τὸν ἐμοὶ προσήκοντα· αἰσχρὸν
γάρ μοί ἐστιν ἐκεῖνον περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι ἢ
22 τὴν ὅλην πόλιν. τοῦτο δ' εἰ μὴ βούλεσθε, κατὰ
τόνδε τὸν νόμον κρίνατε, ὅς ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροσύ-
λοις καὶ προδόταις, ἐάν τις ἢ τὴν πόλιν προδιδῷ
ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτῃ, κριθέντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, ἂν
καταγνωσθῇ, μὴ ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, τὰ δὲ
23 χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι. τούτων ὁποτέρῳ
βούλεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ νόμῳ κρινέ-
σθων οἱ ἄνδρες κατὰ ἕνα ἕκαστον διῃρημένων
τῆς ἡμέρας τριῶν μερῶν, ἑνὸς μὲν ἐν ᾧ συλ-
λέγεσθαι ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ διαψηφίζεσθαι, ἐάν τε
ἀδικεῖν δοκῶσιν ἐάν τε μή, ἑτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ κατη-
γορῆσαι, ἑτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ ἀπολογήσασθαι.[1]
24 Τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων οἱ μὲν ἀδικοῦντες τεύ-
ξονται τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας, οἱ δ' ἀναίτιοι
ἐλευθερωθήσονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ
25 οὐκ ἀδίκως ἀπολοῦνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸν
νόμον εὐσεβοῦντες καὶ εὐορκοῦντες κρινεῖτε καὶ
οὐ συμπολεμήσετε Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς ἐκείνους
ἑβδομήκοντα ναῦς ἀφελομένους καὶ νενικηκότας,
τούτους ἀπολλύντες ἀκρίτους παρὰ τὸν νόμον.

[1] ἑνὸς . . . ἀπολογήσασθαι appears to be an interpolation. Kel. brackets.

guilty, he shall be put to death by being cast into the pit, and his property shall be confiscated and the tenth part thereof shall belong to the goddess. Under this decree I urge you to try the generals, and, by Zeus, if it so please you, Pericles, my kinsman, first of them all; for it would be base for me to think more of him than of the general interests of the state. Or if you do not wish to do this, try them under the following law, which applies to temple-robbers and traitors: namely, if anyone shall be a traitor to the state or shall steal sacred property, he shall be tried before a court, and if he be convicted, he shall not be buried in Attica, and his property shall be confiscated. By whichever of these laws you choose, men of Athens, let the men be tried, each one separately,[1] and let the day be divided into three parts, one wherein you shall gather and vote as to whether you judge them guilty or not, another wherein the accusers shall present their case, and another wherein the accused shall make their defence. 406 B.C.

"If this is done, the guilty will incur the severest punishment, and the guiltless will be set free by you, men of Athens, and will not be put to death unjustly. As for yourselves, you will be granting a trial in accordance with the law and standing true to religion and your oaths, and you will not be fighting on the side of the Lacedaemonians by putting to death the men who captured seventy ships from them and defeated them,—by putting to death these men, I say, without a trial, in violation of the law. What

[1] It was a general principle of Athenian law—perhaps specifically stated in the decree of Cannonus (see above)—that each accused person had the right to a separate trial.

26 τί δὲ καὶ δεδιότες σφόδρα οὕτως ἐπείγεσθε; ἦ μὴ οὐχ ὑμεῖς ὃν ἂν βούλησθε ἀποκτείνητε καὶ ἐλευθερώσητε, ἂν κατὰ τὸν νόμον κρίνητε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὥσπερ Καλλίξεινος τὴν βουλὴν ἔπεισεν εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰσενεγκεῖν μιᾷ ψήφῳ;
27 ἀλλ' ἴσως ἄν τινα καὶ οὐκ αἴτιον ὄντα ἀποκτείναιτε· μεταμελῆσαι δὲ ὕστερον ἀναμνήσθητε ὡς ἀλγεινὸν καὶ ἀνωφελὲς ἤδη ἐστί, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ
28 περὶ θανάτου ἀνθρώπου ἡμαρτηκότας. δεινὰ δ' ἂν ποιήσαιτε, εἰ Ἀριστάρχῳ μὲν πρότερον τὸν δῆμον καταλύοντι, εἶτα δ' Οἰνόην προδιδόντι Θηβαίοις πολεμίοις οὖσιν, ἔδοτε ἡμέραν ἀπολογήσασθαι ᾗ ἐβούλετο καὶ τἆλλα κατὰ τὸν νόμον προὐθετε, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς πάντα ὑμῖν κατὰ γνώμην πράξαντας, νικήσαντας δὲ τοὺς
29 πολεμίους, τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἀποστερήσετε. μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῶν ὄντας[1] τοὺς νόμους, δι' οὓς μάλιστα μέγιστοί ἐστε, φυλάττοντες, ἄνευ τούτων μηδὲν πράττειν πειρᾶσθε.

Ἐπανέλθετε δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα καθ' ἃ καὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι δοκοῦσι γεγενῆσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἐπεὶ γὰρ κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέπλευσαν, Διομέδων μὲν ἐκέλευεν ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ κέρως ἅπαντας ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὰ ναυάγια καὶ τοὺς ναυαγούς, Ἐρασινίδης δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς Μυτιλήνην πολεμίους τὴν ταχίστην

[1] ὄντας MSS.: ὄντες Kel.

is it, pray, that you fear, that you are in such excessive haste? Do you fear lest you will lose the right to put to death and set free anyone you please if you proceed in accordance with the law, but think that you will retain this right if you proceed in violation of the law, by the method which Callixeinus persuaded the Senate to report to the people, that is, by a single vote? Yes, but you might possibly be putting to death some one who is really innocent; and repentance afterwards—ah, remember how painful and unavailing it always is, and especially when one's error has brought about a man's death. You would do a monstrous thing if, after granting in the past to Aristarchus,[1] the destroyer of the democracy and afterwards the betrayer of Oenoe to your enemies the Thebans, a day in which to defend himself as he pleased, and allowing him all his other rights under the law,—if, I say, you shall now deprive the generals, who have done everything to your satisfaction, and have defeated the enemy, of these same rights. Let no such act be yours, men of Athens, but guard the laws, which are your own and above all else have made you supremely great, and do not try to do anything without their sanction. 406 B.C.

"And now come back to the actual circumstances under which the mistakes are thought to have been committed by the generals. When, after winning the battle, they sailed in to the shore, Diomedon urged that they should one and all put out to sea in line and pick up the wreckage and the shipwrecked men, while Erasinides proposed that all should sail with the utmost speed against the enemy at

[1] In 411 B.C. Aristarchus helped to establish the short-lived oligarchical government of the Four Hundred.

πλεῖν ἅπαντας· Θράσυλλος δὲ ἀμφότερ' ἂν[1] ἔφη
γενέσθαι, ἂν τὰς μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλίπωσι, ταῖς δὲ
30 ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέωσι· καὶ δοξάντων τούτων
καταλιπεῖν τρεῖς ναῦς ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς αὑτοῦ συμ-
μορίας, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων, καὶ τὰς τῶν
ταξιάρχων δέκα καὶ τὰς Σαμίων δέκα καὶ τὰς
τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς· αὗται ἅπασαι γίγνονται
ἑπτὰ καὶ τετταράκοντα, τέτταρες περὶ ἑκάστην
31 ναῦν τῶν ἀπολωλυιῶν δώδεκα οὐσῶν. τῶν δὲ
καταλειφθέντων τριηράρχων[2] ἦσαν καὶ Θρασύ-
βουλος καὶ Θηραμένης, ὃς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκ-
κλησίᾳ κατηγόρει τῶν στρατηγῶν. ταῖς δὲ
ἄλλαις ναυσὶν ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὰς πολεμίας. τί
τούτων οὐχ ἱκανῶς καὶ καλῶς ἔπραξαν; οὐκοῦν
δίκαιον τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ καλῶς
πραχθέντα τοὺς πρὸς τούτους[3] ταχθέντας ὑπέ-
χειν λόγον, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς[4] τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, μὴ
ποιήσαντας ἃ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκέλευσαν, διότι οὐκ
32 ἀνείλοντο κρίνεσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν
ὑπερ ἀμφοτέρων, ὅτι ὁ χειμὼν διεκώλυσε μηδὲν
πρᾶξαι ὧν οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρεσκευάσαντο.[5] τού-
των δὲ μάρτυρες οἱ σωθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου,
ὧν εἷς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ καταδύσης
νεὼς διασωθείς, ὃν κελεύουσι τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ
κρίνεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν τότε δεόμενον ἀναιρέσεως,[6]

[1] ἀμφότερ' ἂν Stephanus: ἀμφότερα Kel. and MSS.
[2] τριηράρχων MSS.: Kel. brackets.
[3] τούτους editors: τοῦτο Kel.: τούτοις MSS.
[4] τοὺς δὲ πρὸς MSS.: τοὺς δὲ τὰ πρὸς Kel.

Mytilene. But Thrasyllus said that both things would be accomplished if they should leave some of the ships there and should sail with the rest against the enemy; and if this plan were decided upon, he advised that each of the generals, who were eight in number, should leave behind three ships from his own division, and that they should also leave the ten ships of the taxiarchs, the ten of the Samians, and the three of the nauarchs. These amount all told to forty-seven ships, four for each one of the lost vessels, which were twelve in number. Among the captains who were left behind were both Thrasybulus and Theramenes, the man who accused the generals at the former meeting of the Assembly. And with the rest of the ships they planned to sail against the enemy's fleet. Now what one of these acts did they not do adequately and well? It is but just, therefore, that those, on the one hand, who were detailed to go against the enemy should be held to account for their lack of success in dealing with the enemy, and that those, on the other hand, who were detailed to recover the shipwrecked, in case they did not do what the generals ordered, should be tried for not recovering them. This much, however, I can say in defence of both parties, that the storm absolutely prevented them from doing any of the things which the generals had planned. And as witnesses to this fact you have those who were saved by mere chance, among whom is one of our generals, who came through safely on a disabled ship, and whom they now bid you judge by the same vote (although at that time he needed to be picked up himself) by 406 B.C.

[5] παρεσκευάσαντο MSS. except F: παρεκελεύσαντο Kel. with F. [6] καὶ . . . ἀναιρέσεως MSS.: Kel. brackets.

ᾗπερ τοὺς οὐ πράξαντας τὰ προσταχθέντα.[1]
33 μὴ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὅμοια ποιήσητε τοῖς ἡττημένοις τε καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίων ἀγνωμονεῖν δόξητε, προδοσίαν καταγνόντες ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδυναμίας, οὐχ ἱκανοὺς γενομένους διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα πρᾶξαι τὰ προσταχθέντα·[2] ἀλλὰ πολὺ δικαιότερον στεφάνοις γεραίρειν τοὺς νικῶντας ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις πειθομένους.

34 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔγραψε γνώμην κατὰ τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δίχα ἕκαστον· ἡ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἦν μιᾷ ψήφῳ ἅπαντας κρίνειν. τούτων δὲ διαχειροτονουμένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκριναν τὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου· ὑπομοσαμένου δὲ Μενεκλέους καὶ πάλιν διαχειροτονίας γενομένης ἔκριναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων. ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ παρόντες
35 ἕξ. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετέμελε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο, οἵτινες τὸν δῆμον ἐξηπάτησαν, προβολὰς αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἐγγυητὰς

[1] ᾗπερ . . . προσταχθέντα condemned by Richter and others: retained by Kel. But τοὺς . . . προσταχθέντα can only refer to the *captains*, and it was the *generals* who were on trial.

[2] οὐχ . . . προσταχθέντα condemned by Brückner and others, whom Kel. follows, for the reason stated in the preceding note.

which you judge those who did not do what they were ordered to do. Do not, then, men of Athens, in the face of your victory and your good fortune, act like men who are beaten and unfortunate, nor, in the face of heaven's visitation, show yourselves unreasonable by giving a verdict of treachery instead of helplessness, since they found themselves unable on account of the storm to do what they had been ordered to do; nay, it would be far more just for you to honour the victors with garlands than, yielding to the persuasions of wicked men, to punish them with death." 406 B.C.

When Euryptolemus had thus spoken, he offered a resolution that the men be tried under the decree of Cannonus, each one separately; whereas the proposal of the Senate was to judge them all by a single vote. The vote being now taken as between these two proposals, they decided at first in favour of the resolution of Euryptolemus; but when Menecles interposed an objection under oath [1] and a second vote was taken, they decided in favour of that of the Senate. After this they condemned the generals who took part in the battle, eight in all; and the six who were in Athens were put to death. And not long afterwards the Athenians repented, and they voted that complaints [2] be brought against any who had deceived the people, that they furnish bonds-

[1] Apparently questioning the legality of Euryptolemus' proposal. Under the law such an objection should have suspended the consideration of the matter before the Assembly, but in this case it seems to have had no such result.

[2] A προβολή was a complaint presented to the Assembly, alleging an offence against the state. The Assembly, acting as a grand jury, might then hold the accused for trial before a court.

καταστῆσαι, ἕως ἂν κριθῶσιν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ Καλ-*λίξεινον τούτων. προυβλήθησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τέτταρες, καὶ ἐδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων. ὕστερον δὲ στάσεώς τινος γενομένης, ἐν ᾗ* Κλεο-*φῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέδρασαν οὗτοι, πρὶν κριθῆναι·* Καλλίξεινος *δὲ κατελθὼν ὅτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ* Πειραιῶς *εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μισούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων λιμῷ ἀπέθανεν.*

men until such time as they should be brought to trial, and that Callixeinus be included among them. Complaints were brought against four others also, and they were put into confinement by their bondsmen. But when there broke out afterwards a factional disturbance, in the course of which Cleophon[1] was put to death, these men escaped, before being brought to trial; Callixeinus indeed returned, at the time when the Piraeus party returned to the city,[2] but he was hated by everybody and died of starvation. 406 B.C.

[1] A popular leader of the democratic party.
[2] *i.e.* in the restoration which followed the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants (*Hell.* II. iv. 39–43).

BOOK II

B

I. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Χίῳ μετὰ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου στρα-
τιῶται ὄντες, ἕως μὲν θέρος ἦν, ἀπό τε τῆς ὥρας
ἐτρέφοντο καὶ ἐργαζόμενοι μισθοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώ-
ραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ χειμὼν ἐγένετο καὶ τροφὴν οὐκ εἶχον
γυμνοί τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι, συνίσταντο ἀλλή-
λοις καὶ συνετίθεντο ὡς τῇ Χίῳ ἐπιθησόμενοι·
οἷς δὲ ταῦτα ἀρέσκοι κάλαμον φέρειν ἐδόκει, ἵνα
2 ἀλλήλους μάθοιεν ὁπόσοι εἴησαν. πυθόμενος δὲ
τὸ σύνθημα ὁ Ἐτεόνικος, ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχε τί
χρῷτο τῷ πράγματι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καλα-
μηφόρων· τό τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπιχειρῆσαι
σφαλερὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, μὴ εἰς τὰ ὅπλα ὁρμήσωσι
καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχόντες καὶ πολέμιοι γενό-
μενοι ἀπολέσωσι πάντα τὰ πράγματα, ἂν κρατή-
σωσι, τό τ' αὖ ἀπολλύναι ἀνθρώπους συμμάχους
πολλοὺς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, μή τινα καὶ εἰς
τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας διαβολὴν σχοῖεν καὶ οἱ
3 στρατιῶται δύσνοι πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ὦσιν· ἀνα-
λαβὼν δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἄνδρας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐγχει-
ρίδια ἔχοντας ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ
ἐντυχών τινι ὀφθαλμιῶντι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπιόντι ἐξ
4 ἰατρείου, κάλαμον ἔχοντι, ἀπέκτεινε. θορύβου
δὲ γενομένου καὶ ἐρωτώντων τινῶν διὰ τί ἀπέθανεν

BOOK II

I. The troops that were at Chios under Eteonicus[1] 406 B.C.
subsisted, so long as the summer lasted, upon the produce of the season and by working for hire up and down the island; when winter came on, however, and they were without food and poorly clad and unshod, they got together and agreed to make an attack upon Chios; and it was decided that those who approved this plan should carry a reed, so that they could tell how numerous they were. Now when Eteonicus learned of the plot, he was uncertain how to deal with the matter on account of the great number of the reed-bearers. To attack them openly seemed to him to be dangerous, for he feared that they might rush to their arms, gain possession of the city, turn enemies, and so ruin everything, in case they should prevail; while, in the other case, to be putting allied soldiers to death in such numbers was also clearly a serious matter, for in this way the Lacedaemonians might incur harsh criticism among the other Greeks as well, and the troops might be disaffected toward the cause. Accordingly he took with him fifteen men armed with daggers and proceeded through the city, and meeting a man suffering from ophthalmia as he was leaving a physician's house, a reed in his hand, he put him to death. And when an uproar resulted and people asked why the man had been put to death,

[1] See I. vi. 36 f.

ὁ ἄνθρωπος, παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν ὁ Ἐτεόνικος,
ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον εἶχε. κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραγγελίαν
ἐρρίπτουν πάντες ὅσοι εἶχον τοὺς καλάμους, ἀεὶ
5 ὁ ἀκούων δεδιὼς μὴ ὀφθείη ἔχων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
ὁ Ἐτεόνικος συγκαλέσας τοὺς Χίους χρήματα
ἐκέλευσε συνενεγκεῖν, ὅπως οἱ ναῦται λάβωσι
μισθὸν καὶ μὴ νεωτερίσωσί τι· οἱ δὲ εἰσήνεγκαν·
ἅμα δὲ εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐσήμηνεν εἰσβαίνειν· προσιὼν
δὲ ἐν μέρει παρ' ἑκάστην ναῦν παρεθάρρυνέ τε καὶ
παρῄνει πολλά, ὡς τοῦ γεγενημένου οὐδὲν εἰδώς,
καὶ μισθὸν ἑκάστῳ μηνὸς διέδωκε.
6 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι
συλλεγέντες εἰς Ἔφεσον ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν
ἐνεστηκότων πραγμάτων πέμπειν εἰς Λακεδαί-
μονα πρέσβεις ταῦτά τε ἐροῦντας καὶ Λύσανδρον
αἰτήσοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, εὖ φερόμενον παρὰ τοῖς
συμμάχοις κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ναυαρχίαν, ὅτε
7 καὶ τὴν ἐν Νοτίῳ ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίαν. καὶ ἀπε-
πέμφθησαν πρέσβεις, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ παρὰ
Κύρου ταὐτὰ λέγοντες ἄγγελοι. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι ἔδοσαν τὸν Λύσανδρον ὡς ἐπιστολέα,
ναύαρχον δὲ Ἄρακον· οὐ γὰρ νόμος αὐτοῖς δὶς τὸν
αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν· τὰς μέντοι ναῦς παρέδοσαν
Λυσάνδρῳ, ἐτῶν ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι
παρεληλυθότων.[1]
8 Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν
Αὐτοβοισάκην καὶ Μιτραῖον, υἱεῖς ὄντας τῆς
Δαρειαίου ἀδελφῆς τῆς τοῦ Ξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου
πατρός, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀπαντῶντες οὐ διέωσαν διὰ τῆς

[1] ἐτῶν . . . παρεληλυθότων is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on I. ii. 1.

Eteonicus ordered his followers to give out word that it was because he had the reed. As a result of this announcement all those who were carrying reeds threw them away, each man as he heard the report being afraid that he might be seen with one. After this Eteonicus called together the Chians and bade them contribute money, in order that the sailors might get their pay and not attempt anything seditious; and the Chians did so. At the same time he ordered his men to embark upon their ships; and going along past each ship in its turn he encouraged and advised them at length, as though he knew nothing of what had happened, and distributed a month's pay to all hands. 406 B.C.

After this the Chians and the rest of the allies gathered at Ephesus and resolved, in view of the existing situation, to send ambassadors to Lacedaemon to report the facts and to ask for Lysander as commander of the fleet, a man who was in high favour among the allies as a result of his former command, when he won the battle of Notium.[1] Ambassadors were accordingly sent, and with them went also envoys from Cyrus with the same request. And the Lacedaemonians granted them Lysander as vice-admiral, but made Aracus admiral; for it was contrary to their law for a man to hold the office of admiral twice; nevertheless, they put the ships under the command of Lysander—the war having now lasted twenty-five years.

It was in this year that Cyrus put to death Autoboesaces and Mitraeus, who were sons of Darius' sister—the daughter of Darius' father Xerxes—because upon meeting him they did not thrust their

[1] See I. v. 11–14.

κόρης τὰς χεῖρας, ὃ ποιοῦσι βασιλεῖ μόνον· ἡ δὲ
κόρη ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἢ χειρίς, ἐν ᾗ τὴν χεῖρα
9 ἔχων οὐδὲν ἂν δύναιτο ποιῆσαι. Ἱεραμένης μὲν
οὖν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔλεγον πρὸς Δαρειαῖον δεινὸν
εἶναι εἰ περιόψεται τὴν λίαν ὕβριν τούτου· ὁ δὲ
αὐτὸν μεταπέμπεται ὡς ἀρρωστῶν, πέμψας ἀγ-
γέλους.[1]
10 Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ἐπὶ Ἀρχύτα μὲν ἐφορεύον-
τος, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀλεξίου,[2] Λύσανδρος
ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἔφεσον μετεπέμψατο Ἐτεόνικον
ἐκ Χίου σὺν ταῖς ναυσί, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας
συνήθροισεν, εἴ πού τις ἦν, καὶ ταύτας τ' ἐπε-
σκεύαζε καὶ ἄλλας ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐναυπηγεῖτο.
11 ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κῦρον χρήματα ᾔτει· ὁ δ' αὐτῷ
εἶπεν ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνηλωμένα εἴη,
καὶ ἔτι πλείω πολλῷ, δεικνύων ὅσα ἕκαστος τῶν
12 ναυάρχων ἔχοι, ὅμως δ' ἔδωκε. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ
Λύσανδρος τἀργύριον, ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις τριηράρ-
χους ἐπέστησε καὶ τοῖς ναύταις τὸν ὀφειλόμενον
μισθὸν ἀπέδωκε. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ πρὸς[3] τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐν τῇ
Σάμῳ.
13 Κῦρος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μετεπέμψατο Λύσανδρον,
ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἧκεν ἄγγελος λέγων
ὅτι ἀρρωστῶν ἐκεῖνον καλοίη, ὢν ἐν Θαμνηρίοις
τῆς Μηδίας ἐγγὺς Καδουσίων, ἐφ' οὓς ἐστράτευσεν
14 ἀφεστῶτας. ἥκοντα δὲ Λύσανδρον οὐκ εἴα ναυ-
μαχεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐὰν μὴ πολλῷ πλείους

[1] §§ 8 and 9 are probably interpolated. See crit. note on I. i. 37.

[2] ἐπὶ . . . Ἀλεξίου is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on I. ii. 1.

[3] πρὸς MSS.: Kel. brackets.

hands through the *corê*, an honour they show the King alone. (The *corê* is a longer sleeve than the *cheiris*, and a man who had his hand in one would be powerless to do anything.) In consequence, Hieramenes and his wife said to Darius that it would be shameful if he were to overlook such wanton violence on the part of Cyrus; and Darius, on the plea that he was ill, sent messengers and summoned Cyrus to come to him. 406 B.C.

In the following year—Archytas being now ephor, and Alexias archon at Athens—Lysander arrived at Ephesus and sent for Eteonicus to come thither from Chios with the ships, while he also gathered together all the other ships that were anywhere to be found; then he occupied himself with refitting these vessels and building more at Antandrus. Meantime he went to Cyrus and asked for money; and Cyrus told him that the funds provided by the King had been spent, in fact much more besides, showing him how much each of the admirals had received; nevertheless he did give him money. And upon receiving it Lysander appointed to each trireme its captain and paid his sailors the wages that were due them. Meanwhile the Athenian generals also were getting their fleet in readiness, at Samos. 405 B.C.

At this point Cyrus sent for Lysander, for a messenger had come to him from his father with word that he was ill and summoned him, he being at Thamneria, in Media, near the country of the Cadusians, against whom he had made an expedition, for they were in revolt. And when Lysander arrived, Cyrus warned him not to give battle to the Athenians unless he should far outnumber them in ships; for,

ναῦς ἔχῃ· εἶναι γὰρ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ
καὶ ἑαυτῷ, ὥστε τούτου ἕνεκεν πολλὰς πληροῦν.
παρέδειξε δ' αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς φόρους τοὺς ἐκ
τῶν πόλεων, οἳ αὐτῷ ἴδιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ περιττὰ
χρήματα ἔδωκε· καὶ ἀναμνήσας ὡς[1] εἶχε φιλίας
πρός τε τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλιν καὶ πρὸς
Λύσανδρον ἰδίᾳ, ἀνέβαινε παρὰ τὸν πατέρα.
15 Λύσανδρος δ' ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ Κῦρος πάντα παραδοὺς
τὰ αὑτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀρρωστοῦντα μετά-
πεμπτος ἀνέβαινε, μισθὸν διαδοὺς τῇ στρατιᾷ
ἀνήχθη τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν Κεράμειον κόλπον.
καὶ προσβαλὼν πόλει τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμάχῳ
ὄνομα Κεδρείαις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσβολῇ[2] κατὰ
κράτος αἱρεῖ καὶ ἐξηνδραπόδισεν. ἦσαν δὲ μιξο-
βάρβαροι οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀπέπλευσεν
16 εἰς Ῥόδον. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ὁρμώ-
μενοι τὴν βασιλέως κακῶς ἐποίουν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν
Χίον καὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον ἐπέπλεον, καὶ παρεσκευά-
ζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, καὶ στρατηγοὺς πρὸς τοῖς
ὑπάρχουσι προσείλοντο Μένανδρον, Τυδέα, Κη-
17 φισόδοτον. Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου παρὰ
τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἔπλει πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πρός
τε τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἔκπλουν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφεστη-
κυίας αὐτῶν πόλεις. ἀνήγοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθη-
18 ναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Χίου πελάγιοι· ἡ γὰρ Ἀσία πολεμία
αὐτοῖς ἦν· Λύσανδρος δ' ἐξ Ἀβύδου παρέπλει
εἰς Λάμψακον σύμμαχον οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ

[1] ὡς MSS.: ἧς Kel.
[2] προσβολῇ MSS.: Kel. brackets.

Cyrus said, both the King and he had money in abundance, and hence, so far as that point was concerned, it would be possible to man many ships. He then assigned to Lysander all the tribute which came in from his cities and belonged to him personally, and gave him also the balance he had on hand; and, after reminding Lysander how good a friend he was both to the Lacedaemonian state and to him personally, he set out on the journey to his father. 405 B.C.

Now Lysander, when Cyrus had thus given over to him all his money and set out, in response to the summons, to visit his sick father, distributed pay to his men and set sail to the Ceramic Gulf, in Caria. There he attacked a city named Cedreiae which was an ally of the Athenians, and on the second day's assault captured it by storm and reduced the inhabitants to slavery; they were a mixture of Greek and barbarian blood. Thence he sailed away to Rhodes. As for the Athenians, they harried the territory of the King, using Samos as a base, and sailed against Chios and Ephesus; they were also making their preparations for battle, and had chosen three generals in addition to the former number,—Menander, Tydeus, and Cephisodotus. Meanwhile Lysander sailed from Rhodes along the coast of Ionia to the Hellespont, in order to prevent the passing out of the grain-ships and to take action against the cities which had revolted from the Lacedaemonians. The Athenians likewise set out thither from Chios, keeping to the open sea; for Asia was hostile to them. But Lysander coasted along from Abydus to Lampsacus, which was an ally of the Athenians; and the people of Abydus and the other cities

οἱ Ἀβυδηνοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παρῆσαν[1] πεζῇ· ἡγεῖτο
19 δὲ Θώραξ Λακεδαιμόνιος. προσβαλόντες δὲ τῇ
πόλει αἱροῦσι κατὰ κράτος, καὶ διήρπασαν οἱ
στρατιῶται οὖσαν πλουσίαν καὶ οἴνου καὶ σίτου
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων πλήρη· τὰ δὲ ἐλεύθερα
20 σώματα πάντα ἀφῆκε Λύσανδρος. οἱ δ' Ἀθη-
ναῖοι κατὰ πόδας πλέοντες ὡρμίσαντο τῆς Χερ-
ρονήσου ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι ναυσὶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ
ἑκατόν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀριστοποιουμένοις αὐτοῖς
ἀγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ Λάμψακον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνή-
21 χθησαν εἰς Σηστόν. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς ἐπισιτισά-
μενοι ἔπλευσαν εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς ἀντίον τῆς
Λαμψάκου· διεῖχε δὲ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ταύτῃ στα-
δίους ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδειπνοποι-
22 οῦντο. Λύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί, ἐπεὶ
ὄρθρος ἦν, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιησα-
μένους εἰσβαίνειν, πάντα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος
ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰ παραβλήματα παρα-
βάλλων, προεῖπεν ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσοιτο ἐκ τῆς
23 τάξεως μηδὲ ἀνάξοιτο. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα τῷ
ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι παρετάξαντο ἐν
μετώπῳ ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀντανή-
γαγε Λύσανδρος, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὀψὲ ἦν,[2] ἀπέ-
24 πλευσαν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Αἰγὸς ποταμούς. Λύ-
σανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχίστας τῶν νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν
ἕπεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐκβῶσι,
κατιδόντας ὅ τι ποιοῦσιν ἀποπλεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ
ἐξαγγεῖλαι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐξεβίβασεν ἐκ τῶν
νεῶν πρὶν αὗται ἧκον. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίει τέτταρας
25 ἡμέρας· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπανήγοντο.[3] Ἀλκι-

[1] παρῆσαν MSS.: παρῆσαν Kel.
[2] καὶ . . . ἦν MSS.: Kel. brackets.
[3] καὶ . . . ἐπανήγοντο MSS.: Kel. brackets.

were at hand on the shore to support him, being 405 B.C.
commanded by Thorax, a Lacedaemonian. Then they attacked the city and captured it by storm, whereupon the soldiers plundered it. It was a wealthy city, full of wine and grain and all other kinds of supplies. But Lysander let go all the free persons who were captured. Now the Athenians had been sailing in the wake of Lysander's fleet, and they anchored at Elaeus, in the Chersonese, with one hundred and eighty ships. While they were breakfasting there, the news about Lampsacus was reported to them, and they set out immediately to Sestus. From there, as soon as they had provisioned, they sailed to Aegospotami, which is opposite Lampsacus, the Hellespont at this point being about fifteen stadia[1] wide. There they took dinner. And during the ensuing night, when early dawn came, Lysander gave the signal for his men to take breakfast and embark upon their ships, and after making everything ready for battle and stretching the side screens,[2] he gave orders that no one should stir from his position or put out. At sunrise the Athenians formed their ships in line for battle at the mouth of the harbour. Since, however, Lysander did not put out against them, they sailed back again, when it grew late in the day, to Aegospotami. Thereupon Lysander ordered the swiftest of his ships to follow the Athenians and, when they had disembarked, to observe what they did, and then to sail back and report to him; and he did not disembark his men from their vessels until these scout-ships had returned. This he did for four days; and the Athenians continued to sail out and offer battle. Meantime Alcibiades, who could

[1] The stadium = c. 600 feet. [2] See i. vi. 19 and note.

βιάδης δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἐν αἰγιαλῷ ὁρμοῦντας καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει, τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ μετιόντας πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐν λιμένι καὶ πρὸς πόλει ἔχοντας πάντα, οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς ὁρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μεθορμίσαι εἰς Σηστὸν παρῄνει πρός τε λιμένα καὶ πρὸς πόλιν·[1] οὗ ὄντες ναυμαχήσετε, ἔφη, ὅταν βού-
26 λησθε. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοί, μάλιστα δὲ Τυδεὺς καὶ Μένανδρος, ἀπιέναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ νῦν στρατηγεῖν, οὐκ ἐκεῖνον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ᾤχετο.
27 Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἶπε τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἑπομένοις, ἐπὰν κατίδωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον, ὅπερ ἐποίουν πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, τά τε σιτία πόρρωθεν ὠνούμενοι καὶ καταφρονοῦντες δὴ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, ὅτι οὐκ ἀντανῆγεν, ἀποπλέοντας τοὔμπαλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἆραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσε.
28 Λύσανδρος δ' εὐθὺς ἐσήμηνε τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν, συμπαρῄει δὲ καὶ Θώραξ τὸ πεζὸν ἔχων. Κόνων δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν ἐπίπλουν, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς βοηθεῖν κατὰ κράτος. διεσκεδασμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δίκροτοι ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροτοι, αἱ δὲ παντελῶς κεναί· ἡ δὲ Κόνωνος καὶ ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτὸν ἑπτὰ πλήρεις ἀνήχθησαν

[1] πρός τε . . . πόλιν MSS.: Kel. brackets.

discern from his castle that the Athenians were moored on an open shore, with no city near by, and were fetching their provisions from Sestus, a distance of fifteen stadia from their ships, while the enemy, being in a harbour and near a city, had everything needful, told the Athenians that they were not moored in a good place, and advised them to shift their anchorage to Sestus and thus gain a harbour and a city; "for if you are there," he said, "you will be able to fight when you please." The generals, however, and especially Tydeus and Menander, bade him be gone; for they said that they were in command now, not he. So he went away. And now Lysander, on the fifth day the Athenians sailed out against him, told his men, who followed them back, that as soon as they saw that the enemy had disembarked and had scattered up and down the Chersonese,—and the Athenians did this far more freely every day, not only because they bought their provisions at a distance, but also because they presumed to think lightly of Lysander for not putting out to meet them,—they were to sail back to him and to hoist a shield when midway in their course. And they did just as he had ordered. Straightway Lysander gave a signal to his fleet to sail with all speed, and Thorax with his troops went with the fleet. Now when Conon saw the oncoming attack, he signalled the Athenians to hasten with all their might to their ships. But since his men were scattered here and there, some of the ships had but two banks of oars manned, some but one, and some were entirely empty; Conon's own ship, indeed, and seven others accompanying him, which were fully manned, put 405 B.C.

ἀθρόαι καὶ ἡ Πάραλος, τὰς δ' ἄλλας πάσας
Λύσανδρος ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ γῇ. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους
ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ γῇ συνέλεξεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς
τὰ τειχύδρια.
29 Κόνων δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα ναυσὶ φεύγων, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω
τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ πράγματα διεφθαρμένα, κατα-
σχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀβαρνίδα τὴν Λαμψάκου ἄκραν
ἔλαβεν αὐτόθεν τὰ μεγάλα τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν
ἱστία, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὀκτὼ ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσε
παρ' Εὐαγόραν εἰς Κύπρον, ἡ δὲ Πάραλος εἰς τὰς
30 Ἀθήνας, ἀπαγγέλλουσα[1] τὰ γεγονότα. Λύσαν-
δρος δὲ τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ
τἆλλα πάντα εἰς Λάμψακον ἀπήγαγεν, ἔλαβε δὲ
καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄλλους τε καὶ Φιλοκλέα καὶ
Ἀδείμαντον. ᾗ δ' ἡμέρᾳ ταῦτα κατειργάσατο,
ἔπεμψε Θεόπομπον τὸν Μιλήσιον λῃστὴν εἰς
Λακεδαίμονα, ἀπαγγελοῦντα τὰ γεγονότα, ὃς
31 ἀφικόμενος τριταῖος ἀπήγγειλε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
Λύσανδρος ἀθροίσας τοὺς συμμάχους ἐκέλευσε
βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ἐνταῦθα δὴ
κατηγορίαι ἐγίγνοντο πολλαὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἅ
τε ἤδη παρενενομήκεσαν καὶ ἃ ἐψηφισμένοι ἦσαν
ποιεῖν, εἰ κρατήσειαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τὴν δεξιὰν
χεῖρα ἀποκόπτειν τῶν ζωγρηθέντων πάντων,
καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες δύο τριήρεις, Κορινθίαν καὶ
Ἀνδρίαν, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντας κατα-
κρημνίσειαν. Φιλοκλῆς δ' ἦν στρατηγὸς τῶν
32 Ἀθηναίων, ὃς τούτους διέφθειρεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ

[1] ἀπαγγέλλουσα BMD: ἀπαγγελοῦσα CFV, followed by Kel.

to sea in close order, and the Paralus[1] with them, 405 B.C.
but all the rest Lysander captured on the beach. He also gathered up on the shore most of the men of their crews; some, however, gained the shelter of the neighbouring strongholds.

But when Conon, fleeing with his nine ships, realized that the Athenian cause was lost, he put in at Abarnis, the promontory of Lampsacus, and there seized the cruising sails that belonged to Lysander's ships; then he sailed away with eight ships to seek refuge with Euagoras in Cyprus, while the Paralus went to Athens with the tidings of what had happened. As for Lysander, he took his prizes and prisoners and everything else back to Lampsacus, the prisoners including Philocles, Adeimantus, and some of the other generals. Furthermore, on the day when he achieved this victory he sent Theopompus, the Milesian buccaneer, to Lacedaemon to report what had happened, and Theopompus arrived and delivered his message on the third day. After this Lysander gathered together the allies and bade them deliberate regarding the disposition to be made of the prisoners. Thereupon many charges began to be urged against the Athenians, not only touching the outrages they had already committed and what they had voted to do if they were victorious in the battle,—namely, to cut off the right hand of every man taken alive,—but also the fact that after capturing two triremes, one a Corinthian and the other an Andrian, they had thrown the crews overboard to a man. And it was Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, who had thus made away with these men. Many other

[1] One of the "state triremes," which were employed for various public missions and as dispatch-boats.

καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, καὶ ἔδοξεν ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅσοι ἦσαν Ἀθηναῖοι πλὴν Ἀδειμάντου, ὅτι μόνος ἐπελάβετο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τῶν χειρῶν ψηφίσματος· ᾐτιάθη μέντοι ὑπό τινων προδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς. Λύσανδρος δὲ Φιλοκλέα πρῶτον ἐρωτήσας, ὃς τοὺς Ἀνδρίους καὶ Κορινθίους κατεκρήμνισε,[1] τί εἴη ἄξιος παθεῖν ἀρξάμενος εἰς Ἕλληνας παρανομεῖν, ἀπέσφαξεν.

II. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λαμψάκῳ κατεστήσατο, ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ Καλχηδόνα. οἱ δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχοντο, τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀφέντες. οἱ δὲ προδόντες Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τὸ Βυζάντιον τότε μὲν ἔφυγον εἰς τὸν Πόντον, ὕστερον δ᾽ εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἐγένοντο
2 Ἀθηναῖοι. Λύσανδρος δὲ τούς τε φρουροὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἴ τινά που ἄλλον ἴδοι Ἀθηναῖον, ἀπέπεμπεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, διδοὺς ἐκεῖσε μόνον πλέουσιν ἀσφάλειαν, ἄλλοθι δ᾽ οὔ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους συλλεγῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, θᾶττον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔνδειαν ἔσεσθαι. καταλιπὼν δὲ Βυζαντίου καὶ Καλχηδόνος Σθενέλαον ἁρμοστὴν Λάκωνα, αὐτὸς ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Λάμψακον τὰς ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζεν.

3 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς ἐλέγετο ἡ συμφορά, καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἄστυ διῇκεν, ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ παραγγέλλων· ὥστ᾽ ἐκείνης

[1] ὃς . . . κατεκρήμνισε MSS.: Kel. brackets.

stories were told, and it was finally resolved to put to death all of the prisoners who were Athenians, with the exception of Adeimantus, because he was the one man who in the Athenian Assembly had opposed the decree in regard to cutting off the hands of captives; he was charged, however, by some people with having betrayed the fleet. As to Philocles, who threw overboard the Andrians and Corinthians, Lysander first asked him what he deserved to suffer for having begun outrageous practices towards Greeks, and then had his throat cut. 405 B.C.

II. After setting in order the affairs of Lampsacus, Lysander sailed against Byzantium and Calchedon. And the people of those cities admitted him, allowing the Athenian garrisons, by the terms of the surrender, to withdraw. And those who had betrayed Byzantium to Alcibiades fled at this time to the Pontus, but afterwards they went to Athens and became Athenian citizens. Now the Athenian garrisons, and in fact every other Athenian whom he saw anywhere, Lysander sent home to Athens, giving them safe conduct if they sailed to that one place and not if they went to any other; for he knew that the more people were collected in the city and Piraeus, the more quickly there would be a scarcity of provisions. Then, after leaving Sthenelaus, a Laconian, as governor of Byzantium and Calchedon, he sailed back to Lampsacus and occupied himself with refitting his ships.

It was at night that the Paralus arrived at Athens with tidings of the disaster, and a sound of wailing ran from Piraeus through the long walls to the city, one man passing on the news to another; and during

τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπο-
λωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι
αὐτοὶ ἑαυτούς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἷα ἐποίησαν
Μηλίους τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρα-
τήσαντες πολιορκίᾳ, καὶ Ἱστιαιᾶς καὶ Σκιωναίους
καὶ Τορωναίους καὶ Αἰγινήτας καὶ ἄλλους πολ-
4 λοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν
ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔδοξε τούς τε λιμένας ἀποχῶσαι
πλὴν ἑνὸς καὶ τὰ τείχη εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ φυλακὰς
ἐφιστάναι καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ὡς εἰς πολιορκίαν
παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν περὶ
ταῦτα ἦσαν.
5 Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ναυσὶ δια-
κοσίαις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον κατεσκευάσατο
τάς τε ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Μυτιλήνην· εἰς
δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία ἔπεμψε δέκα τριήρεις
ἔχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ὃς τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακε-
6 δαιμονίους μετέστησεν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη
Ἑλλὰς ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυ-
μαχίαν πλὴν Σαμίων· οὗτοι δὲ σφαγὰς τῶν
7 γνωρίμων ποιήσαντες κατεῖχον τὴν πόλιν. Λύ-
σανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἆγίν τε εἰς
Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ὅτι προσπλεῖ σὺν
διακοσίαις ναυσί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἐξῇσαν παν-
δημεὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι πλὴν Ἀργείων,
παραγγείλαντος τοῦ ἑτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων βασι-
8 λέως Παυσανίου. ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαντες ἠθροίσθησαν,

---

[1] When Melos surrendered to the Athenians, in 416 B.C., the men who were taken were put to death and the women and children sold into slavery (Thuc. v. 116). The Aeginetans were expelled from their island in 431 B.C. Seven years later a large number of them were captured in their place of

that night no one slept, all mourning, not for the lost alone, but far more for their own selves, thinking that they would suffer such treatment as they had visited upon the Melians,[1] colonists of the Lacedaemonians, after reducing them by siege, and upon the Histiaeans and Scionaeans and Toronaeans and Aeginetans[1] and many other Greek peoples. On the following day they convened an Assembly, at which it was resolved to block up all the harbours except one, to repair the walls, to station guards, and in all other respects to get the city ready for a siege. They busied themselves, accordingly, with these matters. 405 B.C.

Meanwhile Lysander, sailing out of the Hellespont with two hundred ships, arrived at Lesbos and arranged the affairs of Mytilene and the other cities of the island; and he sent Eteonicus with ten triremes to the places on the Thracian coast, and Eteonicus brought over everything in that region to the side of the Lacedaemonians. Indeed, the rest of the Greek world also had fallen away from the Athenians immediately after the battle, with the exception of Samos; there the people slaughtered the aristocrats and held possession of their city. After this Lysander sent word to Agis, at Decelea, and to Lacedaemon that he was coming with two hundred ships. Thereupon the Lacedaemonians took the field with their whole force, and likewise the rest of the Peloponnesians excepting the Argives, at the command of Pausanias, the other king of the Lacedaemonians. And when all had been gathered

refuge, in Peloponnesus, and put to death (Thuc. ii. 27 and iv. 57). The other peoples mentioned had been similarly exiled, enslaved, or massacred.

ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστρατοπέ-
9 δευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ. Λύσανδρος δὲ ἀφικό-
μενος εἰς Αἴγιναν ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν Αἰγινήταις,
ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀθροίσας, ὡς δ'
αὕτως καὶ Μηλίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς
αὑτῶν ἐστέροντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δῃώσας Σαλα-
μῖνα ὡρμίσατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντή-
κοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα εἶργε τοῦ εἴσ-
πλου.
10 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ
κατὰ θάλατταν ἠπόρουν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν
οὔτε συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὔτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον
δὲ οὐδεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίαν εἰ μὴ[1] παθεῖν ἃ οὐ
τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν
ἠδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιᾷ
11 αἰτίᾳ ἑτέρᾳ ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμάχουν. διὰ ταῦτα
τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες ἐκαρτέρουν,
καὶ ἀποθνῃσκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῷ πολλῶν οὐ
διελέγοντο περὶ διαλλαγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς
ἤδη ὁ σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρ'
Ἆγιν, βουλόμενοι σύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις
ἔχοντες τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τού-
12 τοις συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακε-
δαίμονα ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτός.
ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθη-
13 ναίοις, ἔπεμψαν αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. οἱ δ'
ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς[2]
καὶ ἐπύθοντο οἱ ἔφοροι αὐτῶν ἃ ἔλεγον, ὄντα
οἷάπερ καὶ πρὸς Ἆγιν, αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον

[1] εἰ μὴ MSS.: Kel. brackets εἰ: τὸ μὴ Hertlein: μὴ οὐ Hartman.

[2] Sellasia was *in* Laconia. Kel. accordingly brackets, after Cobet, πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς.

together, Pausanias led them to Athens and encamped in the Academy. Meantime Lysander, upon reaching Aegina, restored the state to the Aeginetans, gathering together as many of them as he could, and he did the same thing for the Melians also and for all the others who had been deprived of their native states. Then, after laying waste Salamis, he anchored at Piraeus with one hundred and fifty ships and closed the entrance to the harbour against all merchantmen. 405 B.C.

Now the Athenians, being thus besieged by land and by sea, knew not what to do, since they had neither ships nor allies nor provisions; and they thought that there was no way out, save only to suffer the pains which they had themselves inflicted, not in retaliation, but in wantonness and unjustly upon the people of small states, for no other single reason than because they were in alliance with the Lacedaemonians. On this account they restored to the disfranchised their political rights and held out steadfastly, refusing to make overtures for peace even though many were dying in the city from starvation. When, however, their provisions had entirely given out, they sent ambassadors to Agis declaring their wish to become allies of the Lacedaemonians while still keeping their walls and Piraeus, and on these terms to conclude a treaty. But Agis bade them go to Lacedaemon, saying that he himself had no authority. And when the ambassadors reported to the Athenians this reply, they sent them to Lacedaemon. But when they were at Sellasia, near Laconia, and the ephors learned from them what proposals they were bringing,—the same, namely, as those which they had presented to Agis,—

ἀπιέναι, καὶ εἴ τι δέονται εἰρήνης, κάλλιον ἥκειν
14 βουλευσαμένους. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἧκον οἴκαδε
καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμία
ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν· ᾤοντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθήσεσθαι,
καὶ ἕως ἂν πέμπωσιν ἑτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς
15 τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολεῖσθαι. περὶ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς
καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο συμβουλεύειν· Ἀρ-
χέστρατος γὰρ εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λακεδαιμονίοις[1]
κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς προυκαλοῦντο εἰρήνην
ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδέθη· προυκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν
τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν ἑκατέρου·
ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων συμ-
βουλεύειν.
16 Τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων Θηραμένης εἶπεν ἐν ἐκ-
κλησίᾳ ὅτι εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ
Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἥξει Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον
ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέ-
χουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἢ πίστεως ἕνεκα. πεμ-
φθεὶς δὲ διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας
καὶ πλείω,[2] ἐπιτηρῶν ὁπότε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον
διὰ τὸ ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὸν σῖτον ἅπαντα ὅ τι τις
17 λέγοι ὁμολογήσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἧκε τετάρτῳ μηνί,
ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος
τέως μὲν κατέχοι, εἶτα κελεύοι εἰς Λακεδαίμονα
ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος ὧν ἐρωτῷτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,
ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους. μετὰ ταῦτα ᾑρέθη πρεσβευ-

[1] Λακεδαιμονίοις . . . προυκαλοῦντο MSS.: κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς Λακεδαιμόνιοι προυκαλοῦντο Kel.
[2] πλείω MSS.: πλέον Kel.

they directed them to go back again without coming 405 B.C. a step farther and, if they really had any desire for peace, to take better counsel before they returned. And when the ambassadors reached home and reported this to the people, despondency descended upon all; for they imagined that they would be reduced to slavery, and that while they were sending another set of ambassadors, many would die of the famine. Nevertheless, no one wanted to make any proposal involving the destruction of the walls; for when Archestratus said in the Senate that it was best to make peace with the Lacedaemonians on the terms they offered—and the terms were that they should tear down a portion ten stadia long of each of the two long walls,—he was thrown into prison, and a decree was passed forbidding the making of a proposal of this sort.

This being the condition of affairs in Athens, Theramenes said in the Assembly that if they were willing to send him to Lysander, he would find out before he came back whether the Lacedaemonians were insistent in the matter of the walls because they wished to reduce the city to slavery, or in order to obtain a guarantee of good faith. Upon being sent, however, he stayed with Lysander three months and more, waiting for the time when, on account of the failure of provisions, the Athenians would agree to anything and everything which might be proposed. And when he returned in the fourth month, he reported in the Assembly that Lysander had detained him all this time and had then directed him to go to Lacedaemon, saying that he had no authority in the matters concerning which Theramenes asked for information, but only the ephors. After this Thera-

τῆς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτός.
18 Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἔπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ᾽ ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀριστοτέλην, φυγάδα Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα, ὅτι ἀποκρίναιτο Θηραμένει ἐκεί-
19 νους κυρίους εἶναι εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου. Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτώμενοι[1] δὲ ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ ἥκοιεν εἶπον ὅτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης, μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καλεῖν ἐκέλευον αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἧκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἀντέλεγον Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ᾽
20 ἐξαιρεῖν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἀνδραποδιεῖν μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐποιοῦντο εἰρήνην ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τά τε μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παραδόντας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἕπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται.

21 Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπανέφερον ταῦτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσιόντας δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὄχλος περιεχεῖτο πολύς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἄπρακτοι ἥκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μέλλειν διὰ
22 τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. τῇ δὲ

[1] ἐρωτώμενοι: Kel. assumes a lacuna before it.

menes was chosen ambassador to Lacedaemon with full power, being at the head of an embassy of ten. Lysander meanwhile sent Aristoteles, an Athenian exile, in company with some Lacedaemonians, to report to the ephors that the answer he had made to Theramenes was that they only had authority in the matter of peace and war. Now when Theramenes and the other ambassadors were at Sellasia and, on being asked with what proposals they had come, replied that they had full power to treat for peace, the ephors thereupon gave orders to summon them to Lacedaemon. When they arrived, the ephors called an assembly, at which the Corinthians and Thebans in particular, though many other Greeks agreed with them, opposed making a treaty with the Athenians and favoured destroying their city. The Lacedaemonians, however, said that they would not enslave a Greek city which had done great service amid the greatest perils that had befallen Greece,[1] and they offered to make peace on these conditions: that the Athenians should destroy the long walls and the walls of Piraeus, surrender all their ships except twelve, allow their exiles to return, count the same people friends and enemies as the Lacedaemonians did, and follow the Lacedaemonians both by land and by sea wherever they should lead the way. 405 B.C.

So Theramenes and his fellow-ambassadors brought back this word to Athens. And as they were entering the city, a great crowd gathered around them, fearful that they had returned unsuccessful; for it was no longer possible to delay, on account of the number who were dying of the famine. On the

[1] *i.e.* the Persian wars.

ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήγγελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῖντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης, λέγων ὡς χρὴ πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ τείχη περιαιρεῖν. ἀντειπόντων δέ τινων αὐτῷ, πολὺ δὲ πλειόνων συνε-
23 παινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ οἱ φυγάδες κατῇσαν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

24 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ μεσοῦντι Διονύσιος ὁ Ἑρμοκράτους Συρακόσιος ἐτυράννησε, μάχῃ μὲν πρότερον ἡττηθέντων ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων Καρχηδονίων, σπάνει δὲ σίτου ἑλόντων Ἀκράγαντα, ἐκλιπόντων τῶν Σικελιωτῶν τὴν πόλιν.[1]

III. Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς, ᾗ τὸ στάδιον ἐνίκα Κροκίνας Θετταλός, Ἐνδίου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύοντος, Πυθοδώρου δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντος, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ᾑρέθη, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλοῦσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὀλιγαρχία ὧδε.[2]
2 ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἑλέσθαι, οἳ τοὺς πατρίους[3] νόμους συγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσουσι. καὶ ᾑρέθησαν οἵδε· Πολυχάρης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἱππόλοχος, Εὐκλείδης, Ἱέρων, Μνησίλοχος, Χρέμων, Θηραμένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαιρέλεως, Ἀναίτιος,

[1] § 24 is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on I. i 37.

[2] ᾧ . . . ὧδε is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on I. ii. 1.

[3] τοὺς πατρίους MSS.: Kel. brackets.

next day the ambassadors reported to the Assembly 405 B.C.
the terms on which the Lacedaemonians offered to make peace; Theramenes acted as spokesman for the embassy, and urged that it was best to obey the Lacedaemonians and tear down the walls. And while some spoke in opposition to him, a far greater number supported him, and it was voted to accept the peace. After this Lysander sailed into Piraeus, the exiles returned, and the Peloponnesians with great enthusiasm began to tear down the walls to the music of flute-girls, thinking that that day was the beginning of freedom for Greece.

So the year ended, in the middle of which Dionysius of Syracuse, the son of Hermocrates, became tyrant, after the Carthaginians had been defeated in battle by the Syracusans, but had captured Acragas by famine, the Siceliots abandoning the city.

III. In the following year—in which was cele- 404 B.C.
brated an Olympiad, wherein Crocinas the Thessalian was victorious in the stadium, Endius being now ephor at Sparta and Pythodorus archon at Athens. Since, however, Pythodorus was chosen during the time of the oligarchy, the Athenians do not use his name to mark the year, but call it "the archonless year." And this oligarchy came into being in the way hereafter described[1]—it was voted by the people to choose thirty men to frame the ancient laws[2] into a constitution under which to conduct the government. And the following men were chosen: Polychares, Critias, Melobius, Hippolochus, Eucleides, Hieron, Mnesilochus, Chremon, Theramenes, Aresias, Diocles, Phaedrias, Chaereleos, Anaetius, Peison,

[1] See critical note on the text.

[2] *i.e.* those of Cleisthenes and Solon, as contrasted with the radical, extreme democracy of more recent times. *cp.* Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. xxix. 17.

Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὀνομακλῆς, Θέογνις, Αἰσχίνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος, Φείδων, Δρακοντίδης, Εὐμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἱππόμαχος, Μνησιθεί-
3 δης. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπέπλει Λύσανδρος πρὸς Σάμον, Ἆγις δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἑκάστους.

4 Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν περὶ ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν Λυκόφρων ὁ Φεραῖος, βουλόμενος ἄρξαι ὅλης τῆς Θετταλίας, τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους αὐτῷ τῶν Θετταλῶν, Λαρισαίους τε καὶ ἄλλους, μάχῃ ἐνίκησε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.[1]

5 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Συρακόσιος τύραννος μάχῃ ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων Γέλαν καὶ Καμάριναν ἀπώλεσε. μετ᾽ ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ Λεοντῖνοι Συρακοσίοις συνοικοῦντες ἀπέστησαν εἰς τὴν αὑτῶν πόλιν ἀπὸ Διονυσίου καὶ Συρακοσίων. παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἱππεῖς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου εἰς Κατάνην ἀπεστάλησαν.[1]

6 Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου πάντῃ, ἐπεὶ οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὁμολογεῖν προσβάλλειν ἤδη ἔμελλεν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὡμολόγησαν ἓν ἱμάτιον ἔχων ἕκαστος ἀπιέναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα παραδοῦναι·
7 καὶ οὕτως ἐξῆλθον. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις παραδοὺς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα πάντα καὶ δέκα ἄρχοντας καταστήσας φρουρεῖν[2]

[1] Κατὰ . . . ἀπέκτεινεν condemned by Dindorf: Kel. retains the section, though doubtfully, while bracketing § 5. It seems altogether likely that §§ 4 and 5 are alike interpolations. See crit. note on I. i. 37.

[2] φρουρεῖν MSS.: Kel brackets.

Sophocles, Eratosthenes, Charicles, Onomacles, Theognis, Aeschines, Theogenes, Cleomedes, Erasistratus, Pheidon, Dracontides, Eumathes, Aristoteles, Hippomachus, Mnesitheides. When this had been done, Lysander sailed off to Samos, while Agis withdrew the land force from Decelea and dismissed the several contingents to their cities. 404 B.C.

It was near this date, and at about the time of an eclipse of the sun, that Lycophron of Pherae, who wanted to make himself ruler of all Thessaly, defeated in battle those among the Thessalians who opposed him, namely the Larisaeans and others, and slew many of them.

It was at the same time also that Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, was defeated in battle by the Carthaginians and lost Gela and Camarina. Shortly afterwards also the Leontines, who had been dwelling at Syracuse, revolted from Dionysius and the Syracusans and returned to their own city. And immediately thereafter the Syracusan horsemen were despatched by Dionysius to Catana.

Meanwhile the Samians were being besieged by Lysander on every side, and when, seeing that at first they refused to come to terms, he was on the point of making an attack upon them, they came to an agreement with him that every free person should depart from the city with but one cloak and that all else should be surrendered; and on these terms they withdrew. And Lysander gave over the city and everything therein to the former citizens, and appointed ten rulers to guard it; then he dismissed

ἀφῆκε τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ναυτικὸν κατὰ πόλεις.
8 ταῖς δὲ Λακωνικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Λακε-
δαίμονα, ἀπάγων τά τε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν
ἀκρωτήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκ Πειραιῶς τριήρεις πλὴν
δώδεκα[1] καὶ στεφάνους, οὓς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων
ἐλάμβανε δῶρα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ ἀργυρίου τετρακόσια
καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, ἃ περιεγένοντο τῶν
φόρων, οὓς αὐτῷ Κῦρος παρέδειξεν εἰς τὸν πόλε-
μον, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐκτήσατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ.
9 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπέδωκε, τελευ-
τῶντος τοῦ θέρους, εἰς ὃ ἑξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ
εἴκοσιν ἔτη τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα, ἐν οἷς ἔφοροι οἱ
ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο, Αἰνησίας πρῶτος, ἐφ'
οὗ ἤρξατο ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει
τῶν μετ' Εὐβοίας ἅλωσιν τριακονταετίδων σπον-
10 δῶν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον οἵδε· Βρασίδας, Ἰσάνωρ,
Σωστρατίδας, Ἔξαρχος, Ἀγησίστρατος, Ἀγγε-
νίδας, Ὀνομακλῆς, Ζεύξιππος, Πιτύας, Πλει-
στόλας, Κλεινόμαχος, Ἴλαρχος, Λέων, Χαιρίλας,
Πατησιάδας, Κλεοσθένης, Λυκάριος, Ἐπήρατος,
Ὀνομάντιος, Ἀλεξιππίδας, Μισγολαΐδας, Ἰσίας,
Ἄρακος, Εὐάρχιππος, Παντακλῆς, Πιτύας, Ἀρ-
χύτας, Ἔνδιος, ἐφ' οὗ Λύσανδρος πράξας τὰ
εἰρημένα οἴκαδε κατέπλευσεν.[2]
11 Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ᾑρέθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ
μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθῃρέθη·
αἱρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγράψαι νόμους, καθ'
οὕστινας πολιτεύσοιντο, τούτους μὲν ἀεὶ ἔμελλον
συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ

[1] πλὴν δώδεκα MSS.: Kel. brackets.
[2] εἰς ὃ . . . κατέπλευσεν is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on I. ii. 1.

the naval contingents of the allies to their several cities and sailed home with the Laconian ships to Lacedaemon, taking with him the prows of the captured ships, the triremes from Piraeus except twelve, the crowns which he had received from the cities as gifts to himself individually, four hundred and seventy talents in money, being the balance that remained of the tribute money which Cyrus had assigned to him for the prosecution of the war, and whatever else he had obtained during the course of the war. All these things he delivered over to the Lacedaemonians at the close of the summer—with which ended the twenty-eight years and six months of the war, during which years the eponymous ephors were the following: Aenesias first, in whose term the war began, in the fifteenth year of the thirty years' truce which followed the conquest of Euboea, and after him the following: Brasidas, Isanor, Sostratidas, Exarchus, Agesistratus, Angenidas, Onomacles, Zeuxippus, Pityas, Pleistolas, Cleinomachus, Ilarchus, Leon, Chaerilas, Patesiadas, Cleosthenes, Lycarius, Eperatus, Onomantius, Alexippidas, Misgolaïdas, Isias, Aracus, Euarchippus, Pantacles, Pityas, Archytas, and Endius; it was in Endius' term that Lysander sailed home after performing the deeds above described. 404 B.C.

Now at Athens the Thirty had been chosen as soon as the long walls and the walls round Piraeus were demolished; although chosen, however, for the purpose of framing a constitution under which to conduct the government, they continually delayed framing and publishing this constitution, but they appointed a Senate and the

τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς.
12 ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὓς πάντες ᾔδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπῆγον θανάτου· καὶ ἥ τε βουλὴ ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἵ τε ἄλλοι ὅσοι συνῄδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς
13 μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο βουλεύεσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλοιντο, ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην ἔπεισαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς σφίσι συμπρᾶξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως δὴ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκποδὼν ποιησάμενοι καταστήσαιντο τὴν πολιτείαν· θρέ-
14 ψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπισχνοῦντο. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τούς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἁρμοστὴν συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ, ὡς πάντα ἐπαινοίη ἃ πράττοιεν, τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὓς ἐβούλοντο συνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηρούς τε καὶ ὀλίγου ἀξίους, ἀλλ' ἤδη οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθουμένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δέ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἂν τοὺς συνεθέλοντας λαμβάνειν.

15 Τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει ὁμογνώμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετὴς ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, ἅτε καὶ φυγὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀντέ-

other magistrates as they saw fit. Then, as a first step, they arrested and brought to trial for their lives those persons who, by common knowledge, had made a living in the time of the democracy by acting as informers and had been offensive to the aristocrats; and the Senate was glad to pronounce these people guilty, and the rest of the citizens—at least all who were conscious that they were not of the same sort themselves—were not at all displeased. When, however, the Thirty began to consider how they might become free to do just as they pleased with the state, their first act was to send Aeschines and Aristoteles to Lacedaemon and persuade Lysander to help them to secure the sending of a Lacedaemonian garrison, to remain until, as they said, they could put "the scoundrels" out of the way and establish their government; and they promised to maintain this garrison at their own charges. Lysander consented, and helped them to secure the dispatch of the troops and of Callibius as governor. But when they had got the garrison, they paid court to Callibius in every way, in order that he might approve of everything they did, and as he detailed guardsmen to go with them, they arrested the people whom they wished to reach,—not now "the scoundrels" and persons of little account, but from this time forth the men who, they thought, were least likely to submit to being ignored, and who, if they undertook to offer any opposition, would obtain supporters in the greatest numbers. 404 B.C.

Now in the beginning Critias and Theramenes were agreed in their policy and friendly; but when Critias showed himself eager to put many to death, because, for one thing, he had been banished by the

κοπτε, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἴη θανατοῦν, εἴ τις ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο, Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἕνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ εἴπο-
16 *μεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν· ὁ δέ (ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἐχρῆτο τῷ Θηραμένει) ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροίη τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένοις μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἱκανωτάτους διακωλύειν· Εἰ δέ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἷς, ἧττόν τι οἴει ὥσπερ*[1] *τυραννίδος ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελεῖ-*
17 *σθαι, εὐήθης εἶ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθνησκόντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν συνιστάμενοί τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί ἔσοιτο ἡ πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης ὅτι εἰ μή τις κοινωνοὺς ἱκανοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο*
18 *τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν διαμένειν. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἤδη φοβούμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρυείησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους*
19 *τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων· ὁ δ' αὖ Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἄτοπον δοκοίη ἑαυτῷ γε εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον μὲν*[2] *βουλομένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους,*[3] *ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ οὔτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους οὔτ' ἐντὸς*

[1] *οἴει ὥσπερ* MSS.: *οἴει ἢ ὥσπερ* Kel.
[2] *τὸ πρῶτον μὲν* MSS.: *πρῶτον μὲν τὸ* Kel.
[3] *τρισχιλίους* MSS.: *τρισχιλίους καταλέξαι* Kel.

democracy, Theramenes opposed him, saying that it 404 B.C. was not reasonable to put a man to death because he was honoured by the commons, provided he was doing no harm to the aristocrats. "For," said he, "you and I also have said and done many things for the sake of winning the favour of the city." Then Critias (for he still treated Theramenes as a friend) replied that it was impossible for people who wanted to gain power not to put out of the way those who were best able to thwart them. "But if," he said, "merely because we are thirty and not one, you imagine that it is any the less necessary for us to keep a close watch over this government, just as one would if it were an absolute monarchy, you are foolish." But when, on account of the great numbers continually—and unjustly—put to death, it was evident that many were banding together and wondering what the state was coming to, Theramenes spoke again, saying that unless they admitted an adequate number of citizens into partnership with them in the management of affairs, it would be impossible for the oligarchy to endure. Accordingly Critias and the rest of the Thirty, who were by this time alarmed and feared above all that the citizens would flock to the support of Theramenes, enrolled a body of three thousand, who were to share, as they said, in the government. Theramenes, however, objected to this move also, saying that, in the first place, it seemed to him absurd that, when they wanted to make the best of the citizens their associates, they should limit themselves to three thousand, as though this number must somehow be good men and true and there could neither

τούτων πονηροὺς οἷόν τε εἴη γενέσθαι· Ἔπειτα δ',
ἔφη, ὁρῶ ἔγωγε δύο ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράτ-
τοντας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἥττονα τῶν
ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζομένους.
20 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαν-
τες τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δ' ἔξω
τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ, ἔπειτα κελεύ-
σαντες θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα,[1] ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεληλύ-
θεσαν πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν
τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς τὰ ὅπλα πάντων πλὴν
τῶν τρισχιλίων παρείλοντο, καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες
ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ.
21 τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὡς ἐξὸν ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς
ὅ τι βούλοιντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἕνεκα ἀπέ-
κτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς,
ὅπως ἔχοιεν καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα διδόναι,
καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὺς
μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀπο-
22 σημήνασθαι. ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην
λαβεῖν ὅντινα βούλοιτο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλ'
οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι φάσκοντας βελ-
τίστους εἶναι ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν.
ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν ζῆν
εἴων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας,
ἵνα χρήματα λαμβάνωμεν; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ
23 παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα; οἱ δ' ἐμποδὼν νομίζον-
τες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλοιντο, ἐπι-

[1] θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα Kan: ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα MSS., which Kel. retains, though doubtfully.

be excellent men outside this body nor rascals within 404 B.C.
it. "Besides," he said, "we are undertaking, in my opinion, two absolutely inconsistent things,—to rig up our government on the basis of force and at the same time to make it weaker than its subjects."

This was what Theramenes said. As for the Thirty, they held a review, the Three Thousand assembling in the market-place and those who were not on "the roll" in various places here and there; then they gave the order to pile arms, and while the men were off duty and away, they sent their Lacedaemonian guardsmen and such citizens as were in sympathy with them, seized the arms of all except the Three Thousand, carried them up to the Acropolis, and deposited them in the temple. And now, when this had been accomplished, thinking that they were at length free to do whatever they pleased, they put many people to death out of personal enmity, and many also for the sake of securing their property. One measure that they resolved upon, in order to get money to pay their guardsmen, was that each of their number should seize one of the aliens residing in the city, and that they should put these men to death and confiscate their property. So they bade Theramenes also to seize anyone he pleased; and he replied: "But it is not honourable, as it seems to me," he said, "for people who style themselves the best citizens to commit acts of greater injustice than the informers used to do. For they allowed those from whom they got money, to live; but shall we, in order to get money, put to death men who are guilty of no wrong-doing? Are not such acts altogether more unjust than theirs were?" Then the Thirty, thinking that Theramenes was an obstacle to

βουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς
ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον ὡς λυμαινόμενον
τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκοις
οἳ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι ξιφίδια ὑπὸ
μάλης ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι, συνέλεξαν τὴν
24 βουλήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς
ὁ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

Ὦ ἄνδρες βουλευταί, εἰ μέν τις ὑμῶν νομίζει
πλείους τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθνῄσκειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι
ὅπου πολιτεῖαι μεθίστανται πανταχοῦ ταῦτα
γίγνεται· πλείστους δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐνθάδε πολε-
μίους εἶναι τοῖς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν μεθιστᾶσι διά τε
τὸ πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν
εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν
25 δῆμον τεθράφθαι. ἡμεῖς δὲ γνόντες μὲν τοῖς
οἵοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι
δημοκρατίαν, γνόντες δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς
περισώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὔποτ' ἂν φίλος
γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι ἀεὶ ἂν πιστοὶ διατελοῖεν,
διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων γνώμῃ τήνδε
26 τὴν πολιτείαν καθίσταμεν. καὶ ἐάν τινα αἰσ-
θανώμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ὅσον δυνάμεθα
ἐκποδὼν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα δοκεῖ ἡμῖν
δίκαιον εἶναι, εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται
ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει, δίκην αὐτὸν διδόναι.

27 Νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηραμένην τουτονὶ οἷς
δύναται ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὡς δὲ

their doing whatever they pleased, plotted against him, and kept accusing him to individual senators, one to one man and another to another, of injuring the government. And after passing the word to some young men, who seemed to them most audacious, to be in attendance with daggers hidden under their arms, they convened the Senate. Then when Theramenes arrived, Critias arose and spoke as follows: 404 B.C.

"Gentlemen of the Senate, if anyone among you thinks that more people than is fitting are being put to death, let him reflect that where governments are changed these things always take place; and it is inevitable that those who are changing the government here to an oligarchy should have most numerous enemies, both because the state is the most populous of the Greek states and because the commons have been bred up in a condition of freedom for the longest time. Now we, believing that for men like ourselves and you democracy is a grievous form of government, and convinced that the commons would never become friendly to the Lacedaemonians, our preservers, while the aristocrats would continue ever faithful to them, for these reasons are establishing, with the approval of the Lacedaemonians, the present form of government. And if we find anyone opposed to the oligarchy, so far as we have the power we put him out of the way; but in particular we consider it to be right that, if any one of our own number is harming this order of things, he should be punished.

"Now in fact we find this man Theramenes trying, by what means he can, to destroy both ourselves and you. As proof that this is true you will discover, if

ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, ἂν κατανοῆτε, εὑρήσετε οὔτε ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τουτουὶ τὰ παρόντα οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον, ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδὼν βουλώμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε, πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι πονηρός γ' ἂν δικαίως ἐνομίζετο·
28 νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ὑμᾶς τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπαγομένοις εἰς ὑμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, νῦν ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερῶς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα, οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστῇ,
29 ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δῶμεν τῶν πεπραγμένων. ὥστε οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐχθρῷ αὐτῷ προσήκει ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προδότῃ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν διδόναι τὴν δίκην. καίτοι τοσούτῳ μὲν δεινότερον προδοσία πολέμου, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερον φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ φανεροῦ, τοσούτῳ δ' ἔχθιον, ὅσῳ πολεμίοις μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ σπένδονται καὶ αὖθις πιστοὶ γίγνονται, ὃν δ' ἂν προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ.

30 Ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ καινὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἐστίν, ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἅγνωνα, προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μετα-

you consider the matter, that no one finds more fault with the present proceedings than Theramenes here, or offers more opposition when we wish to put some demagogue out of the way. Now if he had held these views from the beginning, he was, to be sure, an enemy, but nevertheless he would not justly be deemed a scoundrel. In fact, however, he was the very man who took the initiative in the policy of establishing a cordial understanding with the Lacedaemonians; he was the very man who began the overthrow of the democracy, and who urged you most to inflict punishment upon those who were first brought before you for trial; but now, when you and we have manifestly become hateful to the democrats, he no longer approves of what is going on,—just so that *he* may get on the safe side again, and that *we* may be punished for what has been done. Therefore he ought to be punished, not merely as an enemy, but also as a traitor both to you and to ourselves. And treason is a far more dreadful thing than war, inasmuch as it is harder to take precaution against the hidden than against the open danger, and a far more hateful thing, inasmuch as men make peace with enemies and become their trustful friends again, but if they catch a man playing the traitor, they never in any case make peace with that man or trust him thereafter. 404 B.C.

"Now to let you know that this man's present doings are nothing new, but that he is, rather, a traitor by nature, I will recall to you his past deeds. This man in the beginning, although he had received honours at the hands of the democracy, was extremely eager, like his father Hagnon, to change the democracy into the oligarchy of the Four Hundred,[1]

[1] See note on I. vii. 28.

στῆσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευεν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ᾔσθετο ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμὼν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο· ὅθεν δήπου καὶ κόθορνος
31 ἐπικαλεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἁρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων·[1] δεῖ δέ, ὦ Θηράμενες, ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν οὐ προάγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγματα τοὺς συνόντας, ἂν δέ τι ἀντικόπτῃ, εὐθὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ διαπονεῖσθαι, ἕως ἂν εἰς οὖρον καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, πῶς ἂν ἀφίκοιντό ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ, εἰ ἐπειδάν τι ἀντικόψῃ,
32 εὐθὺς εἰς τἀναντία πλέοιεν; καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι, σὺ δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος εἶ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολωλέναι, πλείστοις δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων. οὗτος δέ τοί ἐστιν ὃς καὶ ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθείη.

33 Ὅστις γε μὴν φανερός ἐστι τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν ἀεὶ ἐπιμελόμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρεπόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δὲ οὐ φυλάξασθαι, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ

[1] καὶ . . . ἀμφοτέρων MSS. : Kel. brackets.

and he was a leader in that government. When, 404 B.C.
however, he perceived that some opposition to the oligarchy was gathering, he look the lead again—as champion of the democrats against the oligarchs! That is the reason, you know, why he is nicknamed 'Buskin': for as the buskin seems to fit both feet, so he faces both ways. But, Theramenes, the man who deserves to live ought not to be clever at leading his comrades into dangerous undertakings and then, if any hindrance offers itself, to turn around on the instant, but he ought, as one on shipboard, to hold to his task until they come into a fair breeze. Otherwise, how in the world would sailors reach the port for which they are bound, if they should sail in the opposite direction the moment any hindrance offered itself? It is true, of course, that all sorts of changes in government are attended by loss of life, but you, thanks to your changing sides so easily, share the responsibility, not merely for the slaughter of a large number of oligarchs by the commons, but also for the slaughter of a large number of democrats by the aristocracy. And this Theramenes, you remember, was the man who, although detailed by the generals to pick up the Athenians whose ships were disabled in the battle off Lesbos,[1] failed to do so, and nevertheless was the very one who accused the generals and brought about their death in order that he might save his own life!

"Now when a man clearly shows that he is always looking out for his own advantage and taking no thought for honour or his friends, how in the world can it be right to spare him? Ought we not surely, knowing of his previous changes, to take care that

[1] See I. vi. 35, vii. 4 ff.

τὰς μεταβολάς, ὡς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταὐτὸ δυνασθῇ ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τοῦτον ὑπάγομεν καὶ ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ ὡς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς.
34 ὡς δ' εἰκότα ποιοῦμεν, καὶ τάδ' ἐννοήσατε. καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ δήπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖ[1] ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν ἐφόρων ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς πλείοσι πείθεσθαι ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἁπάσης πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιωθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, ἐὰν σωφρονῆτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε, ὡς οὗτος σωθεὶς μὲν πολλοὺς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσειε τῶν ἐναντία γιγνωσκόντων ὑμῖν, ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμοι ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

35 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὃ τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον δήπου κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἔφασαν προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ὡς διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἑαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαίνοντο. φάσκοντες γὰρ οἷόν τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας,

[1] ἐκεῖ Dindorf: ἐκείνῃ Kel. with MSS.

he shall not be able to do the same thing to us also? We therefore arraign him on the charge of plotting against and betraying both ourselves and you. And in proof that what we are thus doing is proper, consider this fact also. The constitution of the Lacedaemonians is, we know, deemed the best of all constitutions. Now in Lacedaemon if one of the ephors should undertake to find fault with the government and to oppose what was being done instead of yielding to the majority, do you not suppose that he would be regarded, not only by the ephors themselves but also by all the rest of the state, as having merited the severest punishment? Even so you, if you are wise, will not spare this Theramenes, but rather yourselves; for to leave him alive would cause many of those who hold opposite views to yours to cherish high thoughts, while to destroy him would cut off the hopes of them all, both within and without the city." 404 B.C.

When Critias had so spoken, he sat down; and Theramenes rose and said: "I will mention first, gentlemen, the last thing Critias said against me. He says that I brought about the death of the generals by my accusation. But it was not I, as you know, who began the matter by accusing them; on the contrary, it was they who accused me, by stating that although that duty was assigned me by them, I failed to pick up the unfortunates in the battle off Lesbos. I said in my defence that on account of the storm it was not possible even to sail, much less to pick up the men, and it was decided by the state that my plea was a reasonable one, while the generals were clearly accusing themselves. For though they said it was possible to save the men,

προέμενοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι ἀποπλέοντες ᾤχοντο.
36 οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν παρανενοηκέναι·[1] ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρὼν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὥπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
37 δεσπότας. ὧν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο.

Τάδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς βούλεται παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν ἰσχυροὺς ποιεῖ, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτὸν τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν· ὅστις μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα πράττων ἐστὶν οἴομαι ἂν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τά τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἃ νῦν πράττει
38 ἕκαστος ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε καταστῆναι εἰς τὴν βουλείαν καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας ὑπάγεσθαι πάντες ταὐτὰ ἐγιγνώσκομεν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε οὗτοι ἤρξαντο ἄνδρας καλούς τε κἀγαθοὺς συλλαμβάνειν, ἐκ τούτου κἀγὼ
39 ἠρξάμην τἀναντία τούτοις γιγνώσκειν. ᾔδειν γὰρ ὅτι ἀποθνῄσκοντος μὲν Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλαμινίου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος καὶ δοκοῦντος ἱκανοῦ εἶναι, ἀδικοῦντος δ' οὐδὲ ἕν, οἱ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ φοβήσοιντο, φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῇδε τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσοιντο· ἐγίγνωσκον δὲ ὅτι συλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε δημοτικὸν οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος,
40 οἱ τούτῳ ὅμοιοι δυσμενεῖς ἡμῖν γενήσοιντο. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπολλυμένου, ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις εὖ πλεούσας παρεί-

[1] παρανενοηκέναι Wolf: παρανενομηκέναι MSS.; παρανενομικέναι Kel.

they nevertheless sailed away and left them to perish. I do not wonder, however, that Critias has misunderstood the matter; for when these events took place, it chanced that he was not here; he was establishing a democracy in Thessaly along with Prometheus, and arming the serfs against their masters. God forbid that any of the things which he was doing there should come to pass here. 404 B.C.

"I quite agree with him, however, on this point, that if anyone is desirous of deposing you from your office and is making strong those who are plotting against you, it is just for him to incur the severest punishment. But I think you can best judge who it is that is doing this, if you will consider the course which each of us two has taken and is now taking. Well then, up to the time when you became members of the Senate and magistrates were appointed and the notorious informers were brought to trial, all of us held the same views; but when these Thirty began to arrest men of worth and standing, then I, on my side, began to hold views opposed to theirs. For when Leon the Salaminian was put to death,—a man of capacity, both actually and by repute,—although he was not guilty of a single act of wrong-doing, I knew that those who were like him would be fearful, and, being fearful, would be enemies of this government. I also knew, when Niceratus, the son of Nicias, was arrested,—a man of wealth who, like his father, had never done anything to curry popular favour,—that those who were like him would become hostile to us. And further, when Antiphon, who during the war supplied from his own means two fast-sailing triremes, was put to death by

χετο, ἠπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει γεγενημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ἡμῖν ἕξοιεν. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν ἔφασαν χρῆναι· εὔδηλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τούτων ἀπολομένων καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἅπαντες πολέμιοι τῇ

41 πολιτείᾳ ἔσοιντο. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρῃροῦντο, οὐ νομίζων χρῆναι ἀσθενῆ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἑώρων τούτου ἕνεκα βουλομένους περισῶσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι μηδὲν δυναίμεθ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν· ἐξῆν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γ᾽ ἐδέοντο, καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν ὀλίγον ἔτι

42 χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πιέσαντας. οὐδέ γε τὸ φρουροὺς μισθοῦσθαι συνήρεσκέ μοι, ἐξὸν αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν τοσούτους προσλαμβάνειν, ἕως ῥᾳδίως ἐμέλλομεν οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσειν. ἐπεί γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἑώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇδε δυσμενεῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ φυγάδας γιγνομένους, οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μοι οὔτε Θρασύβουλον οὔτε Ἄνυτον οὔτε Ἀλκιβιάδην φυγαδεύειν· ᾔδειν γὰρ ὅτι οὕτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἰσχυρὸν ἔσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλήθει ἡγεμόνες ἱκανοὶ προσγενήσοιντο, τοῖς δ᾽ ἡγεῖσθαι βουλομένοις σύμμαχοι πολλοὶ φανήσοιντο.

43 Ὁ ταῦτα οὖν νουθετῶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ πότερα εὐμενὴς ἂν δικαίως ἢ προδότης νομίζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ ἐχθρούς, ὦ Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, οὐδ᾽ οἱ συμμάχους πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτᾶσθαι, οὗτοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἰσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν,

us, I knew that all those who had been zealous in the state's cause would look upon us with suspicion. I objected, also, when they said that each of us must seize one of the resident aliens; for it was entirely clear that if these men were put to death, the whole body of such aliens would become enemies of the government. I objected likewise when they took away from the people their arms, because I thought that we ought not to make the state weak; for I saw that, in preserving us, the purpose of the Lacedaemonians had not been that we might become few in number and unable to do them any service; for if this had been what they desired, it was within their power, by keeping up the pressure of famine a little while longer, to leave not a single man alive. Again, the hiring of guardsmen did not please me, for we might have enlisted in our service an equal number of our own citizens, until we, the rulers, should easily have made ourselves masters of our subjects. And further, when I saw that many in the city were becoming hostile to this government and that many were becoming exiles, it did not seem to me best to banish either Thrasybulus or Anytus or Alcibiades; for I knew that by such measures the opposition would be made strong, if once the commons should acquire capable leaders and if those who wished to be leaders should find a multitude of supporters. 404 B.C.

"Now would the man who offers openly this sort of admonition be fairly regarded as a well-wisher, or as a traitor? It is not, Critias, the men who prevent one's making enemies in abundance nor the men who teach one how to gain allies in the greatest numbers,—it is not these, I say, who make one's

ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἱ ἀδίκως τε χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἀποκτείνοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιοῦντες καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς φίλους
44 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ὧδε ἐπισκέψασθε. πότερον οἴεσθε Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἄνυτον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἂν ἐνθάδε βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι ἢ ἃ οὗτοι πράττουσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν συμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἡμῖν εἶχε, χαλεπὸν ἂν ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι τῆς χώρας.
45 ἃ δ' αὖ εἶπεν ὡς ἐγώ εἰμι οἷος ἀεί ποτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δήπου ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ δημοκρατίᾳ
46 πιστεύσειαν. ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνίεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον στρατηγοῦντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, εἰς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ' αὑτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ ταῦτ' αἰσθόμενος ἐγὼ διεκώλυσα, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ προδότην εἶναι τῶν φίλων;

47 Ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὡς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον ἁρμόττειν. ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι

enemies strong; but it is much rather those who unjustly rob others of property and put to death people who are guilty of no wrong, who, I say, make their opponents numerous and betray not only their friends but also themselves, and all to satisfy their covetousness. And if it is not evident in any other way that what I say is true, look at the matter in this way: do you suppose that Thrasybulus and Anytus and the other exiles would prefer to have us follow here the policy which I am urging by word, or the policy which these men are carrying out in deed? For my part, I fancy that now they believe every spot is full of allies, while if the best element in the state were friendly to us, they would count it difficult even to set foot anywhere in the land! Again, as to his statement that I have a propensity to be always changing sides, consider these facts also: it was the people itself, as everybody knows, which voted for the government of the Four Hundred, being advised that the Lacedaemonians would trust any form of government sooner than a democracy. But when the Lacedaemonians did not in the least relax their efforts in prosecuting the war, and Aristoteles, Melanthius, Aristarchus, and their fellow-generals were found to be building a fort on the peninsula,[1] into which they proposed to admit the enemy and so bring the state under the control of themselves and their oligarchical associates,—if I perceived this plan and thwarted it, is that being a traitor to one's friends? 404 B.C.

"He dubs me 'Buskin,' because, as he says, I try to fit both parties. But for the man who pleases neither party,—what in the name of the gods should

[1] Commanding the harbour of Piraeus.

χρή; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ
48 πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγένησαι. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀεί ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἂν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἂν ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῆς μετέχοιεν, καὶ τοῖσδέ γ' αὖ ἀεὶ ἐναντίος εἰμὶ οἳ οὐκ οἴονται καλὴν ἂν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων τυραννεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ὠφελεῖν διατάττειν τὴν πολιτείαν πρόσθεν ἄριστον ἡγούμην εἶναι καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι.
49 εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὦ Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἢ τυραννικοῖς τοὺς καλούς τε κἀγαθοὺς ἀποστερεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων ἢ πρότερον πώποτε πεποιηκώς, ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἐσχατώτατα [1] παθὼν ἂν δικαίως ἀποθνήσκειν.

50 Ὡς δὲ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἡ βουλὴ δήλη ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνοὺς ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι εἰ ἐπιτρέψοι τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύξοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλεχθείς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἐπιστῆναι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας φανερῶς τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς

[1] ἐσχατώτατα BCFM : ἔσχατα Kel. with V.

we call him? For you in the days of the democracy were regarded as the bitterest of all haters of the commons, and under the aristocracy you have shown yourself the bitterest of all haters of the better classes. But I, Critias, am forever at war with the men who do not think there could be a good democracy until the slaves and those who would sell the state for lack of a shilling should share in the government, and on the other hand I am forever an enemy to those who do not think that a good oligarchy could be established until they should bring the state to the point of being ruled absolutely by a few. But to direct the government in company with those who have the means to be of service, whether with horses or with shields,[1]—this plan I regarded as best in former days and I do not change my opinion now. And if you can mention any instance, Critias, where I joined hands with demagogues or despots and undertook to deprive men of standing of their citizenship, then speak. For if I am found guilty either of doing this thing now or of ever having done it in the past, I admit that I should justly suffer the very uttermost of all penalties and be put to death." 404 B.C.

When with these words he ceased speaking and the Senate had shown its good will by applause, Critias, realizing that if he should allow the Senate to pass judgment on the case, Theramenes would escape, and thinking that this would be unendurable, went and held a brief consultation with the Thirty, and then went out and ordered the men with the daggers to take their stand at the railing[2] in plain

[1] *i.e.* could equip themselves at their own expense as horsemen or (μετ' ἀσπίδων) as hoplites.

[2] Separating the Senate from the auditorium.

51 δρυφάκτοις. πάλιν δὲ εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν· Ἐγώ, ὦ βουλή, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἵου δεῖ, ὃς ἂν ὁρῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἵδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὔ φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερῶς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων μηδένα ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ ἐξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, συνδοκοῦν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν.

52 Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἱκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτίᾳ εἶναι ἐξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ' ὅνπερ νόμον οὗτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον
53 καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτο μέν, ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδέν μοι ἀρκέσει ὅδε ὁ βωμός, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες καλοὶ κἀγαθοί, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα εὐεξαλει-
54 πτότερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν ἑκάστου. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κῆρυξ τοὺς ἕνδεκα ἐπὶ

sight of the Senate. Then he came in again and said: "Senators, I deem it the duty of a leader who is what he ought to be, in case he sees that his friends are being deceived, not to permit it. I, therefore, shall follow that course. Besides, these men who have taken their stand here say that if we propose to let a man go who is manifestly injuring the oligarchy, they will not suffer us to do so. Now it is provided in the new laws that while no one of those who are on the roll of the Three Thousand may be put to death without your vote, the Thirty shall have power of life or death over those outside the roll. I, therefore," he said, "strike off this man Theramenes from the roll, with the approval of all the Thirty. That being done," he added, "we now condemn him to death." 404 B.C.

When Theramenes heard this, he sprang to the altar and said: "And I, sirs," said he, "beg only bare justice,—that it be not within the power of Critias to strike off either me or whomsoever of you he may wish, but rather that both in your case and in mine the judgment may be rendered strictly in accordance with that law which these men have made regarding those on the roll. To be sure," said he, "I know, I swear by the gods, only too well, that this altar will avail me nothing, but I wish to show that these Thirty are not only most unjust toward men, but also most impious toward the gods. But I am surprised at you," he said, "gentlemen of the aristocracy, that you are not going to defend your own rights, especially when you know that my name is not a whit easier to strike off than the name of each of you." At this moment the herald of the Thirty ordered the Eleven[1] to seize Theramenes; and when

[1] See on I. vii. 10.

τὸν Θηραμένην· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου τοῦ θρασυτάτου τε καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας· Παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένη τουτονὶ κατακεκριμένον κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ ἕνδεκα[1] οὗ δεῖ τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράττετε.

55 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἷλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἷλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ὥσπερ εἰκὸς καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ὁρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλῆρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνο-
56 οῦντες ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρῆσαν. οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μάλα μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε. λέγεται δὲ ἓν ῥῆμα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ. ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμώξοιτο, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπήρετο· Ἂν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρ', ἔφη, οἰμώξομαι; καὶ ἐπεί γε ἀποθνῄσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπιε, τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτόν· Κριτίᾳ τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαστόν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιῶδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

[1] οἱ ἕνδεκα MSS.: Kel. brackets.

they came in, attended by their servants and with Satyrus, the most audacious and shameless of them, at their head, Critias said: "We hand over to you," said he, "this man Theramenes, condemned according to the law. Do you, the Eleven, take him and lead him to the proper place and do that which follows." 404 B.C.

When Critias had spoken these words, Satyrus dragged Theramenes away from the altar, and his servants lent their aid. And Theramenes, as was natural, called upon gods and men to witness what was going on. But the senators kept quiet, seeing that the men at the rail were of the same sort as Satyrus and that the space in front of the senate-house was filled with the guardsmen, and being well aware that the former had come armed with daggers. So they led the man away through the market-place, while he proclaimed in a very loud voice the wrongs he was suffering. One saying of his that is reported was this: when Satyrus told him that if he did not keep quiet, he would suffer for it, he asked: "Then if I do keep quiet, shall I not suffer?" And when, being compelled to die, he had drunk the hemlock, they said that he threw out the last drops, like a man playing *kottabos*,[1] and exclaimed: "Here's to the health of my beloved Critias." Now I am not unaware of this, that these are not sayings worthy of record; still, I deem it admirable in the man that when death was close at hand, neither self-possession nor the spirit of playfulness departed from his soul.

[1] The game consisted in throwing the last drops from a wine-cup into a basin, at the same time pronouncing the name and wishing the health of the person whom one loved.

IV. Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ
τριάκοντα, ὡς ἐξὸν ἤδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς,
προεῖπον μὲν τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι
εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ἦγον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵν' αὐτοὶ καὶ
οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων
δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἄγοντες
ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν
ὑποχωρούντων.
2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θη-
βῶν ὡς σὺν ἑβδομήκοντα Φυλὴν χωρίον κατα-
λαμβάνει ἰσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ
τοῦ ἄστεως σύν τε τοῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς
ἱππεῦσι καὶ μάλ' εὐημερίας οὔσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφί-
κοντο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοί τινες τῶν νέων
προσέβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν
3 οὐδέν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. βουλο-
μένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτειχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκ-
πολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς ἐφόδους
τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν
παμπληθὴς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι
ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνοὺς τῶν σκευο-
4 φόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες. γιγνώ-
σκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατήσοιεν,
εἰ μή τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διαπέμπουσιν εἰς τὰς
ἐσχατιὰς ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς
τούς τε Λακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς καὶ
τῶν ἱππέων δύο φυλάς. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδευσά-
5 μενοι ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Θρασύ-
βουλος, ἤδη συνειλεγμένων εἰς τὴν Φυλὴν περὶ

IV. So, then, Theramenes died; but the Thirty, thinking that now they could play the tyrant without fear, issued a proclamation forbidding those who were outside the roll to enter the city and evicted them from their estates, in order that they themselves and their friends might have these people's lands. And when they fled to Piraeus, they drove many of them away from there also, and filled both Megara and Thebes with the refugees. 404 B.C.

Presently Thrasybulus set out from Thebes with about seventy companions and seized Phyle, a strong fortress. And the Thirty marched out from the city against him with the Three Thousand and the cavalry, the weather being very fine indeed. When they reached Phyle, some of the young men were so bold as to attack the fortress at once, but they accomplished nothing and suffered some wounds themselves before they retired. And while the Thirty were planning to invest the place, so as to force them to surrender by shutting off their avenues for receiving provisions, a very heavy snow storm came on during the night and continued on the following day. So they came back to the city in the snow, after losing a goodly number of their camp-followers by the attacks of the men in Phyle. Then the Thirty, knowing that the enemy would also gather plunder from the farms if there were no force to protect them, sent out all but a few of the Laconian guardsmen and two divisions of the cavalry to the outlying districts about fifteen stadia from Phyle. These troops made their camp in a bushy spot and proceeded to keep guard. Now by this time about seven hundred men were gathered at Phyle, and

ἑπτακοσίους, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς καταβαίνει τῆς νυκτός· θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ὅσον τρία ἢ τέτταρα
6 στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἤδη ἀνίσταντο ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος[1] ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ οἱ ἱπποκόμοι ψήχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ψόφον ἐποίουν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὅπλα δρόμῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὓς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν ἓξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὁπλιτῶν πλέον ἢ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων Νικόστρατόν τε τὸν καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι
7 καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς. ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τροπαῖον στησάμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι ὅπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον καὶ σκεύη ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄστεως ἱππεῖς βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον, προσμείναντες δ' ἕως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς ἄστυ.

8 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ σφίσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσῖνα ἐξιδιώσασθαι, ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγήν, εἰ δεήσειε. καὶ παραγγείλαντες τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα· ἐξέτασίν τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι, φάσκοντες εἰδέναι βούλεσθαι πόσοι εἶεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσοιντο, ἐκέλευον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραψάμενον ἀεὶ

[1] ἕκαστος: Kel. assumes a lacuna after it.

during the night Thrasybulus marched down with them; and about three or four stadia from the guardsmen he had his troops ground their arms and keep quiet. Then when it was drawing towards day and the enemy were already getting up and going away from their camp whithersoever each one had to go, and the grooms were keeping up a hubbub as they curried their horses, at this moment Thrasybulus and his men picked up their arms and charged on the run. They struck down some of the enemy and turned them all to flight, pursuing them for six or seven stadia; and they killed more than one hundred and twenty of the hoplites, and among the cavalry Nicostratus, nicknamed "the beautiful," and two more besides, catching them while still in their beds. Then after returning from the pursuit and erecting a trophy and packing up all the arms and baggage they had captured, they went back to Phyle. And when the cavalry from the city came to the rescue, there were none of the enemy left to be seen; so after waiting until their relatives had taken up the bodies of the dead, they returned to the city. 404 B.C.

After this the Thirty, deeming their government no longer secure, formed a plan to appropriate Eleusis, so as to have a place of refuge if it should prove necessary. Accordingly Critias and the rest of the Thirty, having issued orders to the cavalry to accompany them, went to Eleusis. There they held a review of the townspeople under guard of the cavalry, pretending that they wanted to know how numerous they were and how large an additional garrison they would require, and then ordered them all to register; and each man when he had registered had to pass out

διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐξιέναι. ἐπὶ
δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν
κατέστησαν, τὸν δ' ἐξιόντα ἀεὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται συνέ-
δουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Λυσί-
μαχον τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐκέλευον ἀναγαγόντα παρα-
9 *δοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἕνδεκα. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς*
τὸ Ὠιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ
ὁπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. ἀναστὰς δὲ
Κριτίας ἔλεξεν· Ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν
ἧττον ὑμῖν κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν
αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε,
οὕτω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν συνει-
λημμένων Ἐλευσινίων καταψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἵνα
ταὐτὰ ἡμῖν καὶ θαρρῆτε καὶ φοβῆσθε. δείξας δέ
τι χωρίον, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκέλευε φανερὰν φέρειν τὴν
10 *ψῆφον. οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει*
τοῦ Ὠιδείου ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα
ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἷς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον
ἔμελεν.
Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ
Φυλῆς περὶ χιλίους ἤδη συνειλεγμένους, ἀφι-
κνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριά-
κοντα ἐπεὶ ᾔσθοντο ταῦτα, εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν σύν
τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς
ὁπλίταις· ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν
11 *Πειραιᾶ ἁμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυ-*
λῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ
δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὢν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖ-

by the gate in the town wall in the direction of the sea. Meanwhile they had stationed the cavalry on the shore on either side of the gate, and as each man passed out their servants bound him fast. And when all had thus been seized, they ordered Lysimachus, the cavalry commander, to take them to Athens and turn them over to the Eleven. On the following day they summoned to the Odeum[1] the hoplites who were on the roll and the cavalry also. Then Critias rose and said: "We, gentlemen," said he, "are establishing this government no less for you than for ourselves. Therefore, even as you will share in honours, so also you must share in the dangers. Therefore you must vote condemnation of the Eleusinians who have been seized, that you may have the same hopes and fears as we." Then he showed them a place and bade them cast their ballots therein, in plain sight of everybody. Now the Laconian guardsmen were in one half of the Odeum, fully armed; and these proceedings were pleasing also to such of the citizens as cared only for their own advantage. 404 B.C.

Soon after this Thrasybulus took the men of Phyle, who had now gathered to the number of about one thousand, and came by night to Piraeus. When the Thirty learned of this, they at once set out against him, with the Laconian guardsmen and their own cavalry and hoplites; then they advanced along the carriage road which leads up to Piraeus. And for a time the men from Phyle tried to prevent their coming up, but when they saw that the line of the town wall, extensive as it was, needed a large force for its defence, whereas they were not yet numerous,

[1] A building designed for musical performances. It was just outside the city, to the south-east.

σθαι οὔπω πολλοῖς οὖσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως εἰς τὴν Ἱπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες πρῶτον μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ᾗ φέρει πρός τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνιχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον· καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ συντεταγ-
12 μένοι ἐχώρουν ἄνω. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντενέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδόν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὁπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταί, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ προσῇσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μεθ' αὑτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅπλα ἔχων, κατὰ
13 μέσον στὰς ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνῆσαι ὑμῶν βούλομαι ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἳ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐξήλαυνον καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο· ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγένηνται οὗ οὗτοι μὲν οὔποτε ᾤοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ
14 ἀεὶ ηὐχόμεθα. ἔχοντες γὰρ ὅπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοί, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δει-

they gathered in a compact body on the hill of Munichia.[1] And the men from the city, when they came to the market-place of Hippodamus,[2] first formed themselves in line of battle, so that they filled the road which leads to the temple of Artemis of Munichia and the sanctuary of Bendis; and they made a line not less than fifty shields in depth; then, in this formation, they advanced up the hill. As for the men from Phyle, they too filled the road, but they made a line not more than ten hoplites in depth. Behind the hoplites, however, were stationed peltasts and light javelin-men, and behind them the stone-throwers. And of these there were many, for they came from that neighbourhood. 404 B.C.

And now, while the enemy were advancing, Thrasybulus ordered his men to ground their shields and did the same himself, though still keeping the rest of his arms, and then took his stand in the midst of them and spoke as follows: "Fellow-citizens, I wish to inform some of you and to remind others that those who form the right wing of the approaching force are the very men whom you turned to flight and pursued four days ago, but the men upon the extreme left—they, yes they, are the Thirty, who robbed us of our city when we were guilty of no wrong, and drove us from our homes, and proscribed those who were dearest to us. But now, behold, they have found themselves in a situation in which they never expected to be, but we always prayed that they might be. For with arms in our hands we stand face to face with them; and the gods, because

[1] On the eastern side of the Piraeus peninsula.

[2] The architect of the market-place, as well as of the whole town of Piraeus.

πνοῦντες συνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ
ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικοῦντες, ἀλλ'
οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐφυγαδευόμεθα, νῦν φανερῶς
ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐδίᾳ χειμῶνα
ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ, καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρῶ-
μεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων ὀλίγοις οὖσι τροπαῖα
15 ἵστασθαι διδόασι· καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίκασιν ἡμᾶς
εἰς χωρίον ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε
ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων διὰ τὸ πρὸς
ὄρθιον ἰέναι δύναιντ' ἄν, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ κάταντες
καὶ δόρατα ἀφιέντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους
ἐξιξόμεθά τε αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς κατατρώσομεν.
16 καὶ ᾤετο μὲν ἄν τις δεήσειν τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις
ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου μάχεσθαι· νῦν δέ, ἂν ὑμεῖς, ὥσπερ
προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφιῆτε τὰ βέλη, ἁμαρτή-
σεται μὲν οὐδεὶς ὧν γε μεστὴ ἡ ὁδός, φυλαττό-
μενοι δὲ δραπετεύσουσιν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν·
ὥστε ἐξέσται ὥσπερ τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν ὅπου
ἂν βουλώμεθα καὶ ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν.
17 ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅπως ἕκαστός
τις ἑαυτῷ συνείσεται τῆς νίκης αἰτιώτατος ὤν.
αὕτη γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ
πατρίδα καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ
παῖδας, οἷς εἰσί, καὶ γυναῖκας. ὦ μακάριοι δῆτα,
οἳ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπίδωσι τὴν πασῶν ἡδί-
στην ἡμέραν. εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἄν τις ἀποθάνῃ·
μνημείου γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος ὢν καλοῦ
τεύξεται. ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἡνίκ' ἂν καιρὸς
ᾖ παιᾶνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἐνυάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν,

once we were seized while dining or sleeping or trading, because some of us also were banished when we were not only guilty of no offence, but were not even in the city, are now manifestly fighting on our side. For in fair weather they send a storm, when it is to our advantage, and when we attack, they grant us, though we are few in number and our enemies are many, to set up trophies of victory; and now in like manner they have brought us to a place where the men before you, because they are marching up hill, cannot throw either spears or javelins over the heads of those in front of them, while we, throwing both spears and javelins and stones down hill, shall reach them and strike down many. And though one would have supposed that we should have to fight with their front ranks at least on even terms, yet in fact, if you let fly your missiles with a will, as you should, no one will miss his man when the road is full of them, and they in their efforts to protect themselves will be continually skulking under their shields. You will therefore be able, just as if they were blind men, to strike them wherever you please and then leap upon them and overthrow them. And now, comrades, we must so act that each man shall feel in his breast that he is chiefly responsible for the victory. For victory, God willing, will now give back to us country and homes, freedom and honours, children, to such as have them, and wives. Happy, indeed, are those of us who shall win the victory and live to behold the gladdest day of all! And happy also he who is slain; for no one, however rich he may be, will gain a monument so glorious. Now, when the right moment comes, I will strike up the paean; and when we call Enyalius[1] to 404 B.C.

[1] *i.e.* Ares.

τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.

18 Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρήγγελλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσοι τις ἢ τρωθείη· Ἐπειδὰν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μέν, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς, νίκη δ' ὑμῖν ἔσται ἑπομένοις, ἐμοὶ μέντοι θάνατος, ὥς γέ
19 μοι δοκεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς ἀγόμενος ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἱππόμαχος, τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ δέκα ἀρχόντων Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἔλαβον, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδοσαν, προσιόντες
20 ἀλλήλοις πολλοὶ διελέγοντο. Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ, μάλ' εὔφωνος ὤν, κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνετε; τί ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχήκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων καὶ συγχορευταὶ καὶ συμφοιτηταὶ γεγενήμεθα καὶ συστρατιῶται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύ-

our aid, then let us all, moved by one spirit, take vengeance upon these men for the outrages we have suffered." 404 B.C.

After saying these words and turning about to face the enemy, he kept quiet; for the seer bade them not to attack until one of their own number was either killed or wounded. "But as soon as that happens," he said, "we shall lead on, and to you who follow will come victory, but death, methinks, to me." And his saying did not prove false, for when they had taken up their shields, he, as though led on by a kind of fate, leaped forth first of all, fell upon the enemy, and was slain, and he lies buried at the ford of the Cephisus; but the others were victorious, and pursued the enemy as far as the level ground. In this battle fell two of the Thirty, Critias and Hippomachus, one of the Ten who ruled in Piraeus, Charmides, the son of Glaucon, and about seventy of the others. And the victors took possession of their arms, but they did not strip off the tunic[1] of any citizen. When this had been done and while they were giving back the bodies of the dead, many on either side mingled and talked with one another. And Cleocritus, the herald of the initiated,[2] a man with a very fine voice, obtained silence and said: "Fellow citizens, why do you drive us out of the city? why do you wish to kill us? For we never did you any harm, but we have shared with you in the most solemn rites and sacrifices and the most splendid festivals, we have been companions in the dance and schoolmates and comrades in arms, and we have braved many dangers

[1] Worn underneath the breastplate. The victors, then, appropriated the arms and armour of the dead, but not their clothing. [2] *i.e.* in the Eleusinian mysteries.

καμεν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευ-
21 θερίας. πρὸς θεῶν πατρῴων καὶ μητρῴων καὶ συγγενείας καὶ κηδεστίας καὶ ἑταιρίας, πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις, αἰδούμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους παύσασθε ἁμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οἳ ἰδίων κερδέων ἕνεκα ὀλίγου δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὀκτὼ μησὶν ἢ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἔτη
22 πολεμοῦντες. ἐξὸν δ' ἡμῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὗτοι τὸν πάντων αἴσχιστόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι καὶ τῶν νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔστιν οὓς πολλὰ κατεδακρύσαμεν.

Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακούειν τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν
23 ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάνυ δὴ ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι συνεκάθηντο ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ· τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων ὅπου ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν τι βιαιότερον καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ὡς οὐ χρείη καθυφίεσθαι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἠδικηκέναι, αὐτοί τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐδὲν δέοιντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῆναι πείθεσθαι οὐδ' ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους

with you both by land and by sea in defence of the common safety and freedom of us both. In the name of the gods of our fathers and mothers, in the name of our ties of kinship and marriage and comradeship, —for all these many of us share with one another,— cease, out of shame before gods and men, to sin against your fatherland, and do not obey those most accursed Thirty, who for the sake of their private gain have killed in eight months more Athenians, almost, than all the Peloponnesians in ten years of war. And when we might live in peace as fellow citizens, these men bring upon us war with one another, a war most utterly shameful and intolerable, utterly unholy and hated by both gods and men. Yet for all that, be well assured that for some of those now slain by our hands not only you, but we also, have wept bitterly." 404 B.C.

Thus he spoke; but the surviving officials of the oligarchy, partly because their followers were hearing such things, led them back to the city. On the following day the Thirty, utterly dejected and with but few adherents left, held their session in the council-chamber; and as for the Three Thousand, wherever their several detachments were stationed, everywhere they began to quarrel with one another. For all those who had done any act of especial violence and were therefore fearful, urged strenuously that they ought not to yield to the men in Piraeus; while those who were confident that they had done no wrong, argued in their own minds and set forth to the others that there was no need of their suffering these evils, and they said that they ought not to obey the Thirty or allow them to ruin the state. In the end they voted to depose the Thirty

μὲν καταπαῦσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἑλέσθαι. καὶ εἵλοντο δέκα, ἕνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

24 Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσῖνάδε ἀπῆλθον· οἱ δὲ δέκα τῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ μάλα τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούντων ἀλλήλοις σὺν τοῖς ἱππάρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐξεκάθευδον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὠιδείῳ, τούς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν ἀφ' ἑσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τὰ τείχη, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρθρον σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, ἀεὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπέσοιέν

25 τινες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. οἱ δὲ πολλοί τε ἤδη ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποί, ὅπλα ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ δὲ οἰσύινα, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέσθαι, πιστὰ δόντες, οἵτινες συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἶεν, ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσεσθαι, ἐξῆσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὁπλῖται, πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνῆτες· ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππεῖς ὡσεὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· προνομὰς δὲ ποιούμενοι, καὶ λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ ὀπώραν, ἐκά-

26 θευδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ. τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὅπλοις ἐξῄει, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ λῃστὰς ἐχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν. περιέτυχον δε καὶ τῶν Αἰξωνέων τισὶν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν

[1] *i.e.* in order to serve both as horsemen and as hoplites. See below and *cp.* note on iii. 48.

and choose others. And they chose ten, one from each tribe. 404 B.C.

The Thirty thereupon retired to Eleusis; and the Ten, with the aid of the cavalry commanders, took care of the men in the city, who were in a state of great disquiet and distrust of one another. In fact, even the cavalry did guard duty by night, being quartered in the Odeum and keeping with them both their horses and their shields[1]; and such was the suspicion that prevailed, that they patrolled along the walls[2] from evening onwards with their shields, and toward dawn with their horses, fearing continually that they might be attacked by parties of men from Piraeus. The latter, who were now numerous and included all sorts of people, were engaged in making shields, some of wood, others of wicker-work, and in painting them. And having given pledges that whoever fought with them should be accorded equality in taxation[3] with citizens even if they were foreigners, they marched forth before ten days had passed, a large body of hoplites with numerous light troops; they also got together about seventy horsemen; and they made forays and collected wood and produce, and then came back to spend the night in Piraeus. As for the men in the city, none of them went forth from the walls under arms except the cavalry, who sometimes captured foraging parties made up of the men from Piraeus and inflicted losses upon their main body. They also fell in with some people of Aexone 403 B.C.

[2] *i.e.* outside the walls (see note on Odeum, § 9). In their "distrust of one another" (see above) they sought by this means to prevent desertions to Piraeus.

[3] A favoured class of resident aliens, the ἰσοτελεῖς, stood upon an equal footing with Athenian citizens in respect to taxes.

ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορευομένοις· καὶ τού-
τους Λυσίμαχος ὁ ἵππαρχος ἀπέσφαξε, πολλὰ
λιτανεύοντας καὶ πολλῶν χαλεπῶς φερόντων
27 ἱππέων. ἀνταπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ
τῶν ἱππέων ἐπ' ἀγροῦ λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον
φυλῆς Λεοντίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἤδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν,
ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἄστεως προσ-
έβαλλον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανο-
ποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ὃς ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν
ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον μέλλοιεν τὰς μηχανὰς προσ-
άγειν, τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἁμαξιαίους λίθους
ἄγειν καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἕκαστος βούλοιτο
τοῦ δρόμου. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολλὰ εἷς
ἕκαστος τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρεῖχε.

28 Πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν
μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος, τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ κατα-
λόγῳ ἐξ ἄστεως, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελευόντων, ὡς
ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων,
Λύσανδρος λογισάμενος ὅτι οἷόν τε εἴη ταχὺ
ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ κατά τε γῆν
καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκλει-
σθείησαν, συνέπραξεν ἑκατόν τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς
δανεισθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἁρμοστήν,
Λίβυν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι.
29 καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἐλευσῖνάδε συνέλεγεν
ὁπλίτας πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος
κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν ὅπως μηδὲν εἰσπλέοι

who were going to their own farms after provisions; and Lysimachus, the cavalry commander, put these men to the sword, although they pleaded earnestly and many of the cavalrymen were much opposed to the proceeding. In retaliation, the men in Piraeus killed one of the cavalrymen, Callistratus, of the tribe of Leontis, having captured him in the country. For by this time they were very confident, so that they even made attacks upon the wall of the city. And perhaps it is proper to mention also the following device of the engineer in the city: when he learned that the enemy were intending to bring up their siege-engines by the race-course which leads from the Lyceum, he ordered all his teams to haul stones each large enough to load a wagon and drop them at whatever spot in the course each driver pleased. When this had been done, each single one of the stones caused the enemy a great deal of trouble. 403 B.C.

And now, when the Thirty in Eleusis sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon, and likewise those in the city who were on the roll, and asked for aid on the plea that the commons had revolted from the Lacedaemonians, Lysander, calculating that it was possible to blockade the men in Piraeus both by land and by sea and to force them to a quick surrender if they were cut off from provisions, lent his assistance to the ambassadors, with the result that a hundred talents was loaned to the Athenian oligarchs and that Lysander himself was sent out as governor on land and his brother Libys as admiral of the fleet. Accordingly, Lysander proceeded to Eleusis and busied himself with gathering a large force of Peloponnesian hoplites; meanwhile the admiral kept guard on the sea, to prevent any supplies from coming in by

αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει πάλιν αὖ μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὕτω δὲ προχωρούντων Παυσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν εὐδοκιμήσοι, ἅμα δὲ ἰδίας ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθήνας, πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς ἐξάγει φρου-
30 ράν. συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐορκεῖν ἂν στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν παράσπονδον ποιοῦντας· ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι.

Ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἁλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις
31 τὸ εὐώνυμον.[1] πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Παυσανίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἕνεκεν, ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἴη εὐμενὴς αὐτοῖς ὤν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπῆλθε, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ λαβὼν τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων τρεῖς φυλάς, παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα, σκοπῶν πῇ εὐαποτειχιστότατος εἴη ὁ
32 Πειραιεύς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ προσέθεόν

[1] τὸ εὐώνυμον MSS.: Kel. inserts Ἐλευσῖνι after it.

water to the besieged; so that the men in Piraeus were soon in difficulties again, while the men in the city again had their turn of being confident, in reliance upon Lysander. While matters were proceeding in this way, Pausanias the king, seized with envy of Lysander because, by accomplishing this project, he would not only win fame but also make Athens his own, persuaded three of the five ephors and led forth a Lacedaemonian army. And all the allies likewise followed with him, excepting the Boeotians and the Corinthians; and the plea of these was that they did not think they would be true to their oaths if they took the field against the Athenians when the latter were doing nothing in violation of the treaty; in fact, however, they acted as they did because they supposed that the Lacedaemonians wanted to make the territory of the Athenians their own sure possession. 403 B.C.

So Pausanias encamped on the plain which is called Halipedum, near Piraeus, himself commanding the right wing, while Lysander and his mercenaries formed the left. Then, sending ambassadors to the men in Piraeus, Pausanias bade them disperse to their homes; and when they refused to obey, he attacked them, at least so far as to raise the war-cry, in order that it might not be evident that he felt kindly toward them. And when he had retired without accomplishing anything by his attack, on the next day he took two regiments of the Lacedaemonians and three tribes of the Athenian cavalry and proceeded along the shore to the Still Harbour,[1] looking to see where Piraeus could best be shut off by a wall. As he was returning, some of the enemy

[1] Apparently the inlet to the west of the main harbour of Piraeus.

τινες καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρεῖχον, ἀχθεσθεὶς παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐλᾶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης συνέπεσθαι· σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ἐγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ Πειραιοῖ θέατρον.
33 ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλιζόμενοι οἵ τε πελτασταὶ πάντες καὶ οἱ ὁπλῖται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ψιλοὶ εὐθὺς ἐκδραμόντες ἠκόντιζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον, ἐσφενδόνων· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ πόδα· οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποθνῄσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχω, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαι-
34 μονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὁπλῖται, ἐβοήθουν, καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων[1] ἐπ' ὀκτώ. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας μάλα πιεσθεὶς καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον στάδια τέτταρα ἢ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινά, παρήγγελλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμενος παντελῶς βαθεῖαν τὴν φάλαγγα ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δ' εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἁλαῖς πηλόν, οἱ δὲ

[1] ἄλλων MSS.: Ἁλῶν Kel.

attacked him and caused him trouble, whereupon, becoming angry, he ordered the cavalry to charge upon them at full speed, and the infantrymen within ten years of military age [1] to follow the cavalry; while he himself with the rest of his troops came along in the rear. And they killed nearly thirty of the enemy's light troops and pursued the rest to the theatre in Piraeus. There, as it chanced, the whole body of the light troops and likewise the hoplites of the men in Piraeus were arming themselves. And the light troops, rushing forth at once, set to throwing javelins, hurling stones, shooting arrows, and discharging slings; then the Lacedaemonians, since many of them were being wounded and they were hard pressed, gave ground, though still facing the enemy; and at this the latter attacked much more vigorously. In this attack Chaeron and Thibrachus, both of them polemarchs,[2] were slain, and Lacrates, the Olympic victor, and other Lacedaemonians who lie buried before the gates of Athens in the Cerameicus. Now Thrasybulus and the rest of his troops—that is, the hoplites—when they saw the situation, came running to lend aid, and quickly formed in line, eight deep, in front of their comrades. And Pausanias, being hard pressed and retreating about four or five stadia to a hill, sent orders to the Lacedaemonians and to the allies to join him. There he formed an extremely deep phalanx and led the charge against the Athenians. The Athenians did indeed accept battle at close quarters; but in the end some of them were pushed into the mire of the marsh of Halae and others gave 403 B.C.

[1] *i.e.* the youngest ten year-classes, each year-class including those who reached military age (*i.e.* the age of 20) in the same year.

[2] The title of the commander of a Lacedaemonian regiment.

ἐνέκλιναν· καὶ ἀποθνῄσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πεντή-
κοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.
35 Ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας τροπαῖον στησάμενος ἀνεχώ-
ρησε· καὶ οὐδ᾽ ὣς ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ λάθρᾳ
πέμπων ἐδίδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ οἷα χρὴ λέ-
γοντας πρέσβεις πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς
παρόντας ἐφόρους. οἱ δ᾽ ἐπείθοντο. διίστη δὲ
καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ ἐκέλευε πρὸς σφᾶς
προσιέναι ὡς πλείστους συλλεγομένους, λέγοντας
ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ πολεμεῖν,
ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινῇ ἀμφότεροι Λακεδαιμονί-
36 οις φίλοι εἶναι. ἡδέως δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας
ἔφορος ὢν συνήκουεν· ὥσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν
βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν ἐφόρων συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ
τότε παρῆν οὗτός τε καὶ ἄλλος, ἀμφότεροι τῆς
μετὰ Παυσανίου γνώμης ὄντες μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς
μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ εἰς τὴν
Λακεδαίμονα προθύμως ἔπεμπον τούς τ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ
Πειραιῶς ἔχοντας τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους
σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἄστει ἰδιώτας,
37 Κηφισοφῶντά τε καὶ Μέλητον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὗτοι
ᾤχοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἔπεμπον δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ
τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν
παραδιδόασι καὶ τὰ τείχη ἃ ἔχουσι καὶ σφᾶς
αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλονται·
ἀξιοῦν δ᾽ ἔφασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, εἰ φίλοι
φασὶν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, παραδιδόναι τόν τε
38 Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάν-

way; and about one hundred and fifty of them were slain. 403 B.C.

Thereupon Pausanias set up a trophy and returned to his camp; and despite what had happened he was not angry with them, but sent secretly and instructed the men in Piraeus to send ambassadors to him and the ephors who were with him, telling them also what proposals these ambassadors should offer; and they obeyed him. He also set about dividing the men in the city, and gave directions that as many of them as possible should gather together and come to him and the ephors and say that they had no desire to be waging war with the men in Piraeus, but rather to be reconciled with them and in common with them to be friends of the Lacedaemonians. Now Naucleidas also, who was an ephor, was pleased to hear this. For, as it is customary for two of the ephors to be with a king on a campaign, so in this instance Naucleidas and one other were present, and both of them held to the policy of Pausanias rather than to that of Lysander. For this reason they eagerly sent to Lacedaemon both the envoys from Piraeus, having the proposals for peace with the Lacedaemonians, and the envoys from the city party as private individuals, namely, Cephisophon and Meletus. When, however, these men had departed for Lacedaemon, the authorities in the city also proceeded to send ambassadors, with the message that they surrendered both the walls which they possessed and themselves to the Lacedaemonians, to do with them as they wished; and they said they counted it only fair that the men in Piraeus, if they claimed to be friends of the Lacedaemonians, should in like manner surrender Piraeus and Munichia. When the ephors and the members

των αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ ἔκκλητοι, ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν Παυσανίᾳ διαλλάξαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο κάλλιστα. οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν ἐφ᾽ ᾧτε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἕνδεκα καὶ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἀρξάντων δέκα. εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῖντο τῶν ἐξ ἄστεως, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Ἐλευσῖνα κατοικεῖν.

39 Τούτων δὲ περανθέντων Παυσανίας μὲν διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔθυσαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν[1] οἱ στρατηγοί, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Θρασύβουλος
40 ἔλεξεν· Ὑμῖν, ἔφη, ὦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄνδρες, συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ γνῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. μάλιστα δ᾽ ἂν γνοίητε, εἰ ἀναλογίσαισθε ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον ἐστίν, ὥστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαιότεροί ἐστε; ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν δῆμος πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὢν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἕνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἠδίκησεν·[2] ὑμεῖς δὲ πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὄντες πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἕνεκα κερδέων πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρείᾳ ὑμῖν μέγα
41 φρονητέον. καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων κρίσις τούτου γένοιτο ἢ ὡς ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ φαίητ᾽ ἂν προέχειν, οἳ ἔχοντες καὶ τεῖχος καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους Πελοποννησίους ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐχόντων

[1] ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν: inserted by Cobet, whom Kel. follows.

[2] ἠδίκησεν MSS.: ἠδίκηκεν Kel.

of the Lacedaemonian assembly had heard all the 403 B.C.
ambassadors, they dispatched fifteen men to Athens and commissioned them, in conjunction with Pausanias, to effect a reconciliation in the best way they could. And they effected a reconciliation on these terms, that the two parties should be at peace with one another and that every man should depart to his home except the members of the Thirty, and of the Eleven, and of the Ten who had ruled in Piraeus. They also decided that if any of the men in the city were afraid, they should settle at Eleusis.

When these things had been accomplished, Pausanias disbanded his army and the men from Piraeus went up to the Acropolis under arms and offered sacrifice to Athena. When they had come down, the generals convened an Assembly. There Thrasybulus spoke as follows: "I advise you," he said, "men of the city, to 'know yourselves.' And you would best learn to know yourselves were you to consider what grounds you have for arrogance, that you should undertake to rule over us. Are you more just? But the commons, though poorer than you, never did you any wrong for the sake of money; while you, though richer than any of them, have done many disgraceful things for the sake of gain. But since you can lay no claim to justice, consider then whether it is courage that you have a right to pride yourselves upon. And what better test could there be of this than the way we made war upon one another? Well then, would you say that you are superior in intelligence, you who having a wall, arms, money, and the Peloponnesians as allies, have been worsted by men who had

περιεληλάσθε[1]; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ οἴεσθε μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς, οἵγε ὥσπερ τοὺς δάκνοντας κύνας κλοιῷ δήσαντες παραδιδόασιν, οὕτω κἀκεῖνοι ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ ἠδι-
42 κημένῳ τούτῳ δήμῳ οἴχονται ἀπιόντες; οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀξιῶ ἐγὼ ὧν ὀμωμόκατε παραβῆναι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὔορκοι καὶ ὅσιοί ἐστε. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοι ταράττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρῆσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

43 Καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο· ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ἀκούσαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς Ἐλευσῖνι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέμψαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους ἔπεισαν συναλλαγῆναι. καὶ ὀμόσαντες ὅρκους ἦ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσειν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.

[1] περιεληλάσθε Geist: περιελήλυθεν MSS.: περιείληφθε Kel.

none of these? Is it the Lacedaemonians, then, think 403 B.C. you, that you may pride yourselves upon? How so? Why, they have delivered you up to this outraged populace, just as men fasten a clog upon the necks of snapping dogs and deliver them up to keepers, and now have gone away and left you. Nevertheless, my comrades, I am not the man to ask you to violate any one of the pledges to which you have sworn, but I ask you rather to show this virtue also, in addition to your other virtues,—that you are true to your oaths and are god-fearing men." When he had said this and more to the same effect, and had told them that there was no need of their being disturbed, but that they had only to live under the laws that had previously been in force, he dismissed the Assembly.

So at that time they appointed their magistrates and proceeded to carry on their government; but at 401 B.C. a later period, on learning that the men at Eleusis were hiring mercenary troops, they took the field with their whole force against them, put to death their generals when they came for a conference, and then, by sending to the others their friends and kinsmen, persuaded them to become reconciled. And, pledged as they were under oath, that in very truth they would not remember past grievances, the two parties even to this day live together as fellow-citizens and the commons abide by their oaths.

BOOK III

Γ

I. Ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἀθήνησι στάσις οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.
ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμψας Κῦρος ἀγγέλους εἰς Λακε-
δαίμονα ἠξίου, οἷόσπερ αὐτὸς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦν
ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμῳ, τοιούτους καὶ
Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι
δίκαια νομίσαντες λέγειν αὐτόν, Σαμίῳ τῷ τότε
ναυάρχῳ ἐπέστειλαν ὑπηρετεῖν Κύρῳ, εἴ τι δέοιτο.
κἀκεῖνος μέντοι προθύμως ὅπερ ἐδεήθη ὁ Κῦρος
ἔπραξεν· ἔχων γὰρ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ναυτικὸν σὺν τῷ
Κύρου περιέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, καὶ ἐποίησε
τὸν τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρχοντα Συέννεσιν μὴ δύνασθαι
κατὰ γῆν ἐναντιοῦσθαι Κύρῳ πορευομένῳ ἐπὶ
2 βασιλέα. ὡς μὲν οὖν Κῦρος στράτευμά τε συνέ-
λεξε καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχων ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ
ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὡς ἐκ
τούτου ἀπεσώθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ θάλατταν,
Θεμιστογένει τῷ Συρακοσίῳ γέγραπται.
3 Ἐπεὶ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης, πολλοῦ ἄξιος βασι-
λεῖ δόξας γεγενῆσθαι ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν
πολέμῳ, σατράπης κατεπέμφθη ὧν τε αὐτὸς

---

[1] Artaxerxes.
[2] At Cunaxa, near Babylon, in the autumn of 401 B.C.

BOOK III

I. So ended the civil strife at Athens. Shortly after this Cyrus sent messengers to Lacedaemon and asked that the Lacedaemonians should show themselves as good friends to him as he was to them in the war against the Athenians. And the ephors, thinking that what he said was fair, sent instructions to Samius, at that time their admiral, to hold himself under Cyrus' orders, in case he had any request to make. And in fact Samius did zealously just what Cyrus asked of him: he sailed round to Cilicia at the head of his fleet, in company with the fleet of Cyrus, and made it impossible for Syennesis, the ruler of Cilicia, to oppose Cyrus by land in his march against the Persian king. As to how Cyrus collected an army and with this army made the march up country against his brother,[1] how the battle[2] was fought, how Cyrus was slain, and how after that the Greeks effected their return in safety to the sea—all this has been written by Themistogenes[3] the Syracusan. 401 B.C.

Now when Tissaphernes, who was thought to have proved himself very valuable to the King in the war against his brother, was sent down as satrap both of the provinces which he himself had previously ruled 400 B.C.

[3] Unknown except for this reference. It would seem that Xenophon's own *Anabasis* was not published at the time when these words were written.

πρόσθεν ἦρχε καὶ ὢν Κῦρος, εὐθὺς ἠξίου τὰς Ἰωνικὰς πόλεις ἁπάσας ἑαυτῷ ὑπηκόους εἶναι. αἱ δὲ ἅμα μὲν ἐλεύθεραι βουλόμεναι εἶναι, ἅμα δὲ φοβούμεναι τὸν Τισσαφέρνην, ὅτι Κῦρον, ὅτ' ἔζη, ἀντ' ἐκείνου ᾑρημέναι ἦσαν, εἰς μὲν τὰς πόλεις οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτόν, εἰς Λακεδαίμονα δὲ ἔπεμπον πρέσβεις, καὶ ἠξίουν, ἐπεὶ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος προστάται εἰσίν, ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ σφῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλλήνων, ὅπως ἥ τε χώρα μὴ δῃοῖτο αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐλεύθεροι εἶεν.
4 οἱ οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμπουσιν αὐτοῖς Θίβρωνα ἁρμοστήν, δόντες στρατιώτας τῶν μὲν νεοδαμώδων εἰς χιλίους, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους. ᾐτήσατο δ' ὁ Θίβρων καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων τριακοσίους ἱππέας, εἰπὼν ὅτι αὐτὸς μισθὸν παρέξει. οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἱππευσάντων, νομίζοντες κέρδος τῷ
5 δήμῳ, εἰ ἀποδημοῖεν καὶ ἐναπόλοιντο. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφίκοντο, συνήγαγε μὲν[1] στρατιώτας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων· πᾶσαι γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἐπείθοντο ὅ τι Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀνὴρ ἐπιτάττοι. καὶ σὺν μὲν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ὁρῶν Θίβρων τὸ ἱππικὸν[2] εἰς τὸ πεδίον οὐ κατέβαινεν, ἠγάπα δὲ εἰ ὅπου τυγχάνοι ὤν, δύναιτο ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἀδῄωτον
6 διαφυλάττειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ σωθέντες οἱ ἀναβάντες μετὰ Κύρου συνέμειξαν αὐτῷ, ἐκ τούτου ἤδη καὶ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἀντετάττετο τῷ Τισσαφέρνει, καὶ πόλεις Πέργαμον μὲν ἑκοῦσαν προσέλαβε καὶ

[1] μὲν MSS.: Kel. brackets.
[2] ὁρῶν Θίβρων τὸ ἱππικὸν MSS.: Kel. inserts πρὸς before τὸ ἱππ.

and of those which Cyrus had ruled, he straightway demanded that all the Ionian cities should be subject to him. But they, both because they wanted to be free and because they feared Tissaphernes, inasmuch as they had chosen Cyrus, while he was living, instead of him, refused to admit him into their cities and sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon asking that the Lacedaemonians, since they were the leaders of all Hellas, should undertake to protect them also, the Greeks in Asia, in order that their land might not be laid waste and that they themselves might be free. Accordingly, the Lacedaemonians sent them Thibron as governor, giving him an army made up of a thousand emancipated Helots and four thousand of the other Peloponnesians. Thibron also asked from the Athenians three hundred cavalrymen, saying that he would provide pay for them himself. And the Athenians sent some of those who had served as cavalrymen in the time of the Thirty, thinking it would be a gain to the democracy if they should live in foreign lands and perish there. Furthermore, when they arrived in Asia, Thibron also gathered troops from the Greek cities of the mainland; for at that time all the cities obeyed any command a Lacedaemonian might give. Now while he was at the head of this army, Thibron did not venture to descend to level ground, because he saw the enemy's cavalry, but was satisfied if he could keep the particular territory where he chanced to be from being ravaged. When, however, the men who had made the march up country with Cyrus joined forces with him after their safe return, from that time on he would draw up his troops against Tissaphernes even on the plains, and he got possession of cities, Pergamus by voluntary

400 B.C.

399 B.C.

Τευθρανίαν καὶ Ἁλίσαρναν, ὧν Εὐρυσθένης τε καὶ Προκλῆς ἦρχον οἱ ἀπὸ Δημαράτου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου· ἐκείνῳ δ' αὕτη ἡ χώρα δῶρον ἐκ βασιλέως ἐδόθη ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συστρατείας·[1] προσεχώρησαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Γοργίων καὶ Γογγύλος, ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες, ἔχοντες ὁ μὲν Γάμβριον καὶ Παλαιγάμβριον, ὁ δὲ Μύριναν καὶ Γρύνειον· δῶρον δὲ καὶ αὗται αἱ πόλεις ἦσαν παρὰ βασιλέως Γογγύλῳ, ὅτι μόνος Ἐρετριέων μηδίσας ἔφυγεν. ἦν δὲ ἃς ἀσθενεῖς οὔσας καὶ κατὰ κράτος ὁ Θίβρων ἐλάμβανε· Λάρισάν γε μὴν τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν καλουμένην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, περιστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλλως οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἑλεῖν, φρεατίαν τεμόμενος ὑπόνομον ὤρυττεν, ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενος τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν. ὡς δ' ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἐκθέοντες πολλάκις ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὸ ὄρυγμα καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους, ποιησάμενος αὖ χελώνην ξυλίνην ἐπέστησεν ἐπὶ τῇ φρεατίᾳ. καὶ ταύτην μέντοι ἐκδραμόντες οἱ Λαρισαῖοι νύκτωρ κατέκαυσαν. δοκοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ποιεῖν, πέμπουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι ἀπολιπόντα Λάρισαν στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίαν.

Ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ ἤδη ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ Καρίαν πορευσομένου,[1] Δερκυλίδας ἄρξων ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ

[1] πορευσομένου Dindorf: πορευομένου Kel. with MSS.

---

[1] Xerxes, in 480 B.C. Herod. vii. 101 ff.

surrender, and likewise Teuthrania and Halisarna, two cities which were under the rule of Eurysthenes and Procles, the descendants of Demaratus the Lacedaemonian; and this territory had been given to Demaratus by the Persian king[1] as a reward for accompanying him on his expedition against Greece. Furthermore, Gorgion and Gongylus gave in their allegiance to Thibron, they being brothers, one of them the ruler of Gambrium and Palaegambrium, the other of Myrina and Grynium; and these cities also were a gift from the Persian king to the earlier Gongylus, because he espoused the Persian cause,—the only man among the Eretrians who did so,—and was therefore banished. On the other hand, there were some weak cities which Thibron did actually capture by storm; as for Larisa (Egyptian Larisa, as it is called[2]), when it refused to yield he invested and besieged it. When he proved unable to capture it in any other way, he sunk a shaft and began to dig a tunnel therefrom, with the idea of cutting off their water supply. And when they made frequent sallies from within the wall and threw pieces of wood and stones into the shaft, he met this move by making a wooden shed and setting it over the shaft. The Larisaeans, however, sallied forth by night and destroyed the shed also, by fire. Then, since he seemed to be accomplishing nothing, the ephors sent him word to leave Larisa and undertake a campaign against Caria. 399 B.C.

When, in pursuance of his intention to march against Caria, he was already at Ephesus, Dercylidas arrived to take command of the army, a man who

[2] Because Cyrus the Great settled there a number of captured Egyptians. *Cyrop.* VII. i. 45.

στράτευμα, ἀνὴρ δοκῶν εἶναι μάλα μηχανητικός· καὶ ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ Σίσυφος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Θίβρων ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε καὶ ζημιωθεὶς ἔφυγε· κατηγόρουν γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ σύμμαχοι ὡς ἐφείη ἁρπάζειν τῷ
9 στρατεύματι τοὺς φίλους. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐπεὶ παρέλαβε τὸ στράτευμα, γνοὺς ὑπόπτους ὄντας ἀλλήλοις τὸν Τισσαφέρνη καὶ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, κοινολογησάμενος τῷ Τισσαφέρνει ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου χώραν τὸ στράτευμα, ἑλόμενος θατέρῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις πολεμεῖν. ἦν δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν ὁ Δερκυλίδας πολέμιος τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ· ἁρμοστὴς γὰρ γενόμενος ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου ναυαρχοῦντος, διαβληθεὶς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, ἐστάθη τὴν ἀσπίδα ἔχων, ὃ δοκεῖ κηλὶς εἶναι τοῖς σπουδαίοις Λακεδαιμονίων· ἀταξίας γὰρ ζημίωμά ἐστι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα δὴ πολὺ ἥδιον
10 ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ᾔει. καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν τοσούτῳ διέφερεν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν τοῦ Θίβρωνος ὥστε παρήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα διὰ τῆς φιλίας χώρας μέχρι τῆς Φαρναβάζου Αἰολίδος οὐδὲν βλάψας τοὺς συμμάχους.

Ἡ δὲ Αἰολὶς αὕτη ἦν μὲν Φαρναβάζου, ἐσατράπευε δ' αὐτῷ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ἕως μὲν ἔζη, Ζῆνις Δαρδανεύς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνος νόσῳ ἀπέθανε, παρασκευαζομένου τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἄλλῳ δοῦναι τὴν σατραπείαν, Μανία ἡ τοῦ Ζήνιος γυνή, Δαρδανὶς καὶ αὐτή, ἀναζεύξασα στόλον καὶ δῶρα λαβοῦσα ὥστε καὶ αὐτῷ Φαρναβάζῳ δοῦναι καὶ

was reputed to be exceedingly resourceful; indeed, 399 B.C.
he bore the nickname "Sisyphus." Thibron accordingly went back home, and was condemned and banished; for the allies accused him of allowing his soldiers to plunder their friends. And when Dercylidas took over the command of the army, being aware that Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus were suspicious of each other, he came to an understanding with Tissaphernes and led away his army into the territory of Pharnabazus, preferring to make war against one of the two rather than against both together. Besides, Dercylidas was an enemy of Pharnabazus from earlier days; for after he had become governor at Abydus at the time when Lysander was admiral, he was compelled, as a result of his being slandered by Pharnabazus, to stand sentry, carrying his shield—a thing which is regarded by Lacedaemonians of character as a disgrace; for it is a punishment for insubordination. On this account, then, he was all the more pleased to proceed against Pharnabazus. And from the outset he was so superior to Thibron in the exercise of command that he led his troops through the country of friends all the way to the Aeolis,[1] in the territory of Pharnabazus, without doing any harm whatever to his allies.

This Aeolis belonged, indeed, to Pharnabazus, but Zenis of Dardanus had, while he lived, acted as satrap of this territory for him; when Zenis fell ill and died, and Pharnabazus was preparing to give the satrapy to another man, Mania, the wife of Zenis, who was also a Dardanian, fitted out a great retinue, took presents with her to give to Pharnabazus him-

[1] A district in north-western Asia Minor. The northern part of it was included in the satrapy of Pharnabazus.

παλλακίσιν αὐτοῦ χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοῖς δυνα-
μένοις μάλιστα παρὰ Φαρναβάζῳ, ἐπορεύετο.
11 ἐλθοῦσα δ' εἰς λόγους εἶπεν· Ὦ Φαρνάβαζε, ὁ
ἀνήρ σοι ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ τἆλλα φίλος ἦν καὶ τοὺς
φόρους ἀπεδίδου ὥστε σὺ ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν ἐτίμας.
ἂν οὖν ἐγώ σοι μηδὲν χεῖρον ἐκείνου ὑπηρετῶ, τί
σε δεῖ ἄλλον σατράπην καθιστάναι; ἂν δέ τί σοι
μὴ ἀρέσκω, ἐπὶ σοὶ δήπου ἔσται ἀφελομένῳ ἐμὲ
12 ἄλλῳ δοῦναι τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Φαρ-
νάβαζος ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα σατραπεύειν. ἡ
δ' ἐπεὶ κυρία τῆς χώρας ἐγένετο, τούς τε φόρους
οὐδὲν ἧττον τἀνδρὸς ἀπεδίδου, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις,
ὁπότε ἀφικνοῖτο πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον, ἀεὶ ἦγε δῶρα
αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁπότε ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὴν χώραν κατα-
βαίνοι, πολὺ πάντων τῶν ὑπάρχων κάλλιστα
13 καὶ ἥδιστα ἐδέχετο αὐτόν, καὶ ἅς τε παρέλαβε
πόλεις διεφύλαττεν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν οὐχ ὑπηκόων
προσέλαβεν ἐπιθαλαττιδίας Λάρισάν τε καὶ
Ἁμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνάς, ξενικῷ μὲν Ἑλληνικῷ
προσβαλοῦσα τοῖς τείχεσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐφ' ἁρμα-
μάξης θεωμένη· ὃν δ' ἐπαινέσειε, τούτῳ δῶρα
ἀμέμπτως ἐδίδου, ὥστε λαμπρότατα τὸ ξενικὸν
κατεσκευάσατο. συνεστρατεύετο δὲ τῷ Φαρνα-
βάζῳ καὶ ὁπότε εἰς Μυσοὺς ἢ Πισίδας ἐμβάλοι,
ὅτι τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακουργοῦσιν. ὥστε
καὶ ἀντετίμα αὐτὴν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος

self and to use for winning the favour of his concubines and the men who had the greatest influence at the court of Pharnabazus, and set forth to visit him. And when she had gained an audience with him, she said: "Pharnabazus, my husband was not only a friend to you in all other ways, but he also paid over the tributes which were your due, so that you commended and honoured him. Now, therefore, if I serve you no less faithfully than he, why should you appoint another as satrap? And if I fail to please you in any point, surely it will be within your power to deprive me of my office and give it to another." When Pharnabazus heard this, he decided that the woman should be satrap. And when she had become mistress of the province, she not only paid over the tributes no less faithfully than had her husband, but besides this, whenever she went to the court of Pharnabazus she always carried him gifts, and whenever he came down to her province she received him with far more magnificence and courtesy than any of his other governors; and she not only kept securely for Pharnabazus the cities which she had received from her husband, but also gained possession of cities on the coast which had not been subject to him, Larisa, Hamaxitus, and Colonae—attacking their walls with a Greek mercenary force, while she herself looked on from a carriage; and when a man won her approval she would bestow bounteous gifts upon him, so that she equipped her mercenary force in the most splendid fashion. She also accompanied Pharnabazus in the field, even when he invaded the land of the Mysians or the Pisidians because of their continually ravaging the King's territory. In return for these services Pharnabazus paid her magnificent honours,

399 B.C.

14 καὶ σύμβουλον ἔστιν ὅτε παρεκάλει. ἤδη δ' οὔσης
αὐτῆς ἐτῶν πλέον ἢ τετταράκοντα, Μειδίας,
θυγατρὸς ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ὤν, ἀναπτερωθεὶς ὑπό
τινων ὡς αἰσχρὸν εἴη γυναῖκα μὲν ἄρχειν, αὐτὸν
δ' ἰδιώτην εἶναι, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους μάλα φυλατ-
τομένης αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι προσῆκεν,
ἐκείνῳ δὲ πιστευούσης καὶ ἀσπαζομένης ὥσπερ
ἂν γυνὴ γαμβρὸν ἀσπάζοιτο, εἰσελθὼν ἀποπνῖξαι
αὐτὴν λέγεται. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς,
τό τε εἶδος ὄντα πάγκαλον καὶ ἐτῶν ὄντα ὡς
15 ἑπτακαίδεκα. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας Σκῆψιν καὶ
Γέργιθα ἐχυρὰς πόλεις κατέσχεν, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ
χρήματα μάλιστα ἦν τῇ Μανίᾳ· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι
πόλεις οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ Φαρναβάζῳ
ἔσῳζον αὐτὰς οἱ ἐνόντες φρουροί. ἐκ δὲ τούτου
ὁ Μειδίας πέμψας δῶρα τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ ἠξίου
ἔχειν τὴν χώραν ὥσπερ ἡ Μανία. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρί-
νατο φυλάττειν αὐτά, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν σὺν
αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ λάβῃ τὰ δῶρα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔφη ζῆν
βούλεσθαι μὴ τιμωρήσας Μανίᾳ.
16 Ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἀφικνεῖ-
ται, καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ Λάρισαν καὶ
Ἁμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνὰς τὰς ἐπιθαλαττίους πόλεις
ἑκούσας παρέλαβε· πέμπων δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς
Αἰολίδας πόλεις ἠξίου ἐλευθεροῦσθαί τε αὐτὰς
καὶ εἰς τὰ τείχη δέχεσθαι καὶ συμμάχους γίγνε-
σθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νεανδρεῖς καὶ Ἰλιεῖς καὶ
Κοκυλῖται ἐπείθοντο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ φρουροῦντες
Ἕλληνες ἐν αὐταῖς, ἐπεὶ ἡ Μανία ἀπέθανεν, οὐ
17 πάνυ τι καλῶς περιείποντο· ὁ δ' ἐν Κεβρῆνι,

and sometimes asked her to aid him as a counsellor. 399 B.C.
Now when she was more than forty years old, Meidias, who was the husband of her daughter, was disturbed by certain people saying that it was a disgraceful thing for a woman to be the ruler while he was in private station, and since, although she guarded herself carefully against all other people, as was proper for an absolute ruler, she trusted him and gave him her affection, as a woman naturally would to a son-in-law, he made his way into her presence, as the story goes, and strangled her. He also killed her son, a youth of very great beauty about seventeen years old. When he had done these things, he seized the strong cities of Scepsis and Gergis, where Mania had kept the most of her treasure. The other cities, however, would not admit him into their walls, but the garrisons that were in them kept them safe for Pharnabazus. Then Meidias sent gifts to Pharnabazus and claimed the right to be ruler of the province, even as Mania had been. And Pharnabazus in reply told him to take good care of his gifts until he came in person and took possession of them and of him too; for he said that he would not wish to live if he failed to avenge Mania.

It was at this juncture that Dercylidas arrived, and he forthwith took possession in a single day of Larisa, Hamaxitus, and Colonae, the cities on the coast, by their voluntary act; then he sent to the cities of Aeolis also and urged them to free themselves, admit him into their walls, and become allies. Now the people of Neandria, Ilium, and Cocylium obeyed him, for the Greek garrisons of those cities had been by no means well treated since the death of Mania; but the man who commanded the garrison in Cebren, a

μάλα ἰσχυρῷ χωρίῳ, τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχων, νομίσας, εἰ διαφυλάξειε Φαρναβάζῳ τὴν πόλιν, τιμηθῆναι ἂν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὸν Δερκυλίδαν. ὁ δὲ ὀργιζόμενος, παρεσκευάζετο προσβάλλειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ θυομένῳ αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερὰ τῇ πρώτῃ, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν ἐθύετο. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐκαλλιερεῖτο, πάλιν τῇ τρίτῃ· καὶ μέχρι τεττάρων ἡμερῶν ἐκαρτέρει θυόμενος, μάλα χαλεπῶς φέρων· ἔσπευδε γὰρ πρὶν Φαρνάβαζον βοηθῆσαι
18 ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι πάσης τῆς Αἰολίδος. Ἀθηνάδας δέ τις Σικυώνιος λοχαγός, νομίσας τὸν μὲν Δερκυλίδαν φλυαρεῖν διατρίβοντα, αὐτὸς δ' ἱκανὸς εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς Κεβρηνίους, προσδραμὼν σὺν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ τάξει ἐπειρᾶτο τὴν κρήνην συγχοῦν. οἱ δὲ ἔνδοθεν ἐπεξελθόντες αὐτόν τε συνέτρωσαν καὶ δύο ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παίοντες καὶ βάλλοντες ἀπήλασαν. ἀχθομένου δὲ τοῦ Δερκυλίδου, καὶ νομίζοντος ἀθυμοτέραν καὶ[1] τὴν προσβολὴν ἔσεσθαι, ἔρχονται ἐκ τοῦ τείχους παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκες, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι ἃ μὲν ὁ ἄρχων ποιοίη, οὐκ ἀρέσκοι σφίσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ βούλοιντο σὺν τοῖς Ἕλλησι
19 μᾶλλον ἢ σὺν τῷ βαρβάρῳ εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν ταῦτα, παρὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῶν ἧκε λέγων ὅτι ὅσα λέγοιεν οἱ πρόσθεν καὶ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα λέγοιεν. ὁ οὖν Δερκυλίδας εὐθὺς ὥσπερ ἔτυχε κεκαλλιερηκὼς ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὰς πύλας· οἱ δ' ἀναπετά-

[1] ἀθυμοτέραν καὶ MSS.: ἀθυμοτέρους κατὰ Kel.

very strong place, thinking that if he succeeded in keeping the city for Pharnabazus he would receive honours at his hands, refused to admit Dercylidas. Thereupon the latter, in anger, made preparations for attack. And when the sacrifices that he offered did not prove favourable on the first day, he sacrificed again on the following day. And when these sacrifices also did not prove favourable, he tried again on the third day; and for four days he kept persistently on with his sacrificing, though greatly disturbed by the delay; for he was in haste to make himself master of all Aeolis before Pharnabazus came to the rescue. Now a certain Athenadas, a Sicyonian captain, thinking that Dercylidas was acting foolishly in delaying, and that he was strong enough of himself to deprive the Cebrenians of their water supply, rushed forward with his own company and tried to choke up their spring. And the people within the walls, sallying forth against him, inflicted many wounds upon him, killed two of his men, and drove back the rest with blows and missiles. But while Dercylidas was in a state of vexation and was thinking that his attack would thus be made less spirited, heralds came forth from the wall, sent by the Greeks in the city, and said that what their commander was doing was not to their liking, but that for their part they preferred to be on the side of the Greeks rather than of the barbarian. While they were still talking about this, there came a messenger from their commander, who sent word that he agreed with all that the first party were saying. Accordingly Dercylidas, whose sacrifices on that day, as it chanced, had just proved favourable, immediately had his troops take up their arms and led them toward the gates; and the people threw 399 B.C.

σαντες ἐδέξαντο. καταστήσας δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα
φρουροὺς εὐθὺς ᾔει ἐπὶ τὴν Σκῆψιν καὶ τὴν
Γέργιθα.
20 Ὁ δὲ Μειδίας προσδοκῶν μὲν τὸν Φαρνάβαζον,
ὀκνῶν δ' ἤδη τοὺς πολίτας, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν
Δερκυλίδαν εἶπεν ὅτι ἔλθοι ἂν εἰς λόγους, εἰ
ὁμήρους λάβοι. ὁ δὲ πέμψας αὐτῷ ἀπὸ πόλεως
ἑκάστης τῶν συμμάχων ἕνα ἐκέλευσε λαβεῖν τού-
των ὁπόσους τε καὶ ὁποίους βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ
λαβὼν δέκα ἐξῆλθε, καὶ συμμείξας τῷ Δερκυλίδᾳ
ἠρώτα ἐπὶ τίσιν ἂν σύμμαχος γένοιτο. ὁ δ'
ἀπεκρίνατο ἐφ' ᾧτε τοὺς πολίτας ἐλευθέρους τε
καὶ αὐτονόμους ἐᾶν· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων ᾔει
21 πρὸς τὴν Σκῆψιν. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Μειδίας ὅτι οὐκ
ἂν δύναιτο κωλύειν βίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν, εἴασεν
αὐτὸν εἰσιέναι. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας θύσας τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ
ἐν τῇ τῶν Σκηψίων ἀκροπόλει τοὺς μὲν τοῦ
Μειδίου φρουροὺς ἐξήγαγε, παραδοὺς δὲ τοῖς
πολίταις τὴν πόλιν, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος,
ὥσπερ Ἕλληνας καὶ ἐλευθέρους χρή, οὕτω
πολιτεύειν, ἐξελθὼν ἡγεῖτο ἐπὶ τὴν Γέργιθα.
συμπρούπεμπον δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν Σκη-
ψίων, τιμῶντές τε καὶ ἡδόμενοι τοῖς πεπραγμέ-
22 νοις· ὁ δὲ Μειδίας παρεπόμενος αὐτῷ ἠξίου τὴν
τῶν Γεργιθίων πόλιν παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ
Δερκυλίδας μέντοι ἔλεγεν ὡς τῶν δικαίων οὐδενὸς
ἀτυχήσοι· ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων ᾔει πρὸς τὰς
πύλας σὺν τῷ Μειδίᾳ, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἠκολού-
θει αὐτῷ εἰρηνικῶς εἰς δύο.

them open and admitted him. And after stationing a garrison in this city also, he marched at once against Scepsis and Gergis. 399 B.C.

Now Meidias, who was expecting the coming of Pharnabazus and on the other hand was by this time afraid of his own citizens, sent to Dercylidas and said that he would come to a conference with him if he should first receive hostages. And Dercylidas sent him one man from each of the cities of the allies, and bade him take as many and whoever he pleased. Meidias took ten and came forth from the city, and when he met Dercylidas asked him on what conditions he could be an ally of the Lacedaemonians. Dercylidas replied, on condition of allowing his citizens to be free and independent; and as he said this he proceeded to advance upon Scepsis. Then Meidias, realizing that he would not be able, against the will of the citizens, to prevent his doing so, allowed him to enter the city. And Dercylidas, when he had sacrificed to Athena on the acropolis of Scepsis, led forth Meidias' garrison, gave over the city to the citizens, and then, after exhorting them to order their public life as Greeks and freemen should, departed from the city and led his army against Gergis. And many of the Scepsians took part in the escort which accompanied him on his way, paying him honour and being well pleased at what had been done, and Meidias also followed along with him and urged him to give over the city of the Gergithians to him. And Dercylidas told him only that he would not fail to obtain any of his rights; and as he said this, he was approaching the gates of the city together with Meidias, and the army was following him in double file as though on a peaceful mission.

Οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων καὶ μάλα ὑψηλῶν ὄντων ὁρῶντες τὸν Μειδίαν σὺν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔβαλλον· εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Δερκυλίδου· Κέλευσον, ὦ Μειδία, ἀνοῖξαι τὰς πύλας, ἵνα ἡγῇ μὲν σύ, ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν σοὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔλθω κἀνταῦθα θύσω τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ὁ Μειδίας ὤκνει μὲν ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας, φοβούμενος δὲ μὴ παραχρῆμα συλληφθῇ, ἐκέλευσεν
23 ἀνοῖξαι. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθεν, ἔχων αὖ τὸν Μειδίαν ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐκέλευε θέσθαι περὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἔθυε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐτέθυτο, ἀνεῖπε καὶ τοὺς Μειδίου δορυφόρους θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματος, ὡς μισθοφορήσοντας· Μει-
24 δίᾳ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν εἶναι. ὁ μέντοι Μειδίας ἀπορῶν ὅ τι ποιοίη, εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν ἄπειμι, ἔφη, ξένιά σοι παρασκευάσων. ὁ δέ· Οὔ, μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ἐπεὶ αἰσχρὸν ἐμὲ τεθυκότα ξενίζεσθαι ὑπὸ σοῦ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ξενίζειν σέ. μένε οὖν παρ' ἡμῖν· ἐν ᾧ δ' ἂν τὸ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζηται, ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ διασκεψόμεθα καὶ ποιήσομεν.

25 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκαθέζοντο, ἠρώτα ὁ Δερκυλίδας· Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Μειδία, ὁ πατήρ σε ἄρχοντα τοῦ οἴκου κατέλιπε; Μάλιστα, ἔφη. Καὶ πόσαι σοι οἰκίαι ἦσαν; πόσοι δὲ χῶροι; πόσαι δὲ νομαί; ἀπογράφοντος δ' αὐτοῦ οἱ παρόντες τῶν Σκηψίων εἶπον· Ψεύδεταί
26 σε οὗτος, ὦ Δερκυλίδα. Ὑμεῖς δέ γ', ἔφη, μὴ λίαν

Now the men on the towers of Gergis, which were extremely high, did not throw their missiles because they saw Meidias with him; and when Dercylidas said: "Bid them open the gates, Meidias, so that you may lead the way and I may go with you to the temple and there sacrifice to Athena," Meidias, although he shrank from opening the gates, nevertheless out of fear that he might be seized on the spot, gave the order to open them. When Dercylidas entered he proceeded to the acropolis, keeping Meidias with him as before; and he ordered the rest of his soldiers to take their positions along the walls while he, with those about him, sacrificed to Athena. When the sacrifice had been completed he made proclamation that the spearmen of Meidias' bodyguard should take their positions at the van of his own army, saying that they were to serve him as mercenaries; for Meidias, he said, no longer had anything to fear. Then Meidias, not knowing what to do, said: "Well as for me," said he, "I will go away to prepare hospitality for you." And Dercylidas replied: "No, by Zeus, for it would be shameful for me, who have just sacrificed, to be entertained by you instead of entertaining you. Stay, therefore, with us, and while the dinner is preparing you and I will think out what is fair toward one another and act accordingly." 399 B.C.

When they were seated Dercylidas began asking questions: "Tell me, Meidias, did your father leave you master of his property?" "Yes, indeed," he said. "And how many houses had you? How many farms? How many pastures?" As Meidias began to make a list, the Scepsians who were present said, "He is deceiving you, Dercylidas." "Now don't you," said he, "be too petty about the details."

μικρολογεῖσθε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπεγέγραπτο τὰ πατρῷα,
Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, Μανία δὲ τίνος ἦν; οἱ δὲ πάντες
εἶπον ὅτι Φαρναβάζου. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνης,
ἔφη, Φαρναβάζου; Μάλιστα, ἔφασαν. Ἡμέτερ'
ἂν εἴη, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ κρατοῦμεν· πολέμιος γὰρ ἡμῖν
Φαρνάβαζος. ἀλλ' ἡγείσθω τις, ἔφη, ὅπου κεῖται
27 τὰ Μανίας καὶ τὰ Φαρναβάζου. ἡγουμένων δὲ
τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὴν Μανίας οἴκησιν, ἣν παρειλή-
φει ὁ Μειδίας, ἠκολούθει κἀκεῖνος. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσ-
ῆλθεν, ἐκάλει ὁ Δερκυλίδας τοὺς ταμίας, φράσας
δὲ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς
ὡς εἴ τι κλέπτοντες ἁλώσοιντο τῶν Μανίας,
παραχρῆμα ἀποσφαγήσοιντο. οἱ δ' ἐδείκνυσαν.
ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ εἶδε πάντα, κατέκλεισεν αὐτὰ καὶ κατε-
28 σημήνατο καὶ φύλακας κατέστησεν. ἐξιὼν δὲ
οὓς ηὗρεν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῶν ταξιάρχων καὶ
λοχαγῶν, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Μισθὸς μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ
ἄνδρες, εἴργασται τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐγγὺς ἐνιαυτοῦ
ὀκτακισχιλίοις ἀνδράσιν· ἂν δέ τι προσεργασώ-
μεθα, καὶ ταῦτα προσέσται. ταῦτα δ' εἶπε
γιγνώσκων ὅτι ἀκούσαντες πολὺ εὐτακτότεροι
καὶ θεραπευτικώτεροι ἔσονται. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ
Μειδίου· Ἐμὲ δὲ ποῦ χρὴ οἰκεῖν, ὦ Δερκυλίδα;
ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἔνθαπερ καὶ δικαιότατον, ὦ Μειδία,
ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τῇ σαυτοῦ Σκήψει καὶ ἐν τῇ
πατρῴᾳ οἰκίᾳ.

II. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος
καὶ λαβὼν ἐν ὀκτὼ ἡμέραις ἐννέα πόλεις, ἐβου-
λεύετο ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ χειμάζων βαρὺς

When the list of the inheritance of Meidias had been made Dercylidas said: "Tell me, to whom did Mania belong?" They all said that she belonged to Pharnabazus. "Then," said he, "do not her possessions belong to Pharnabazus too?" "Yes, indeed," they said. "Then they must be ours," he said, "since we are victorious; for Pharnabazus is our enemy. Let some one, then," said he, "lead the way to the place where the possessions of Mania—or rather of Pharnabazus—are stored." Now when the rest led the way to the dwelling of Mania, to which Meidias had succeeded, the latter also followed. And when Dercylidas entered he called the stewards, told his servants to seize them, and announced to them that if they were caught concealing any of Mania's property they should have their throats cut on the spot; so they showed it to him. When he had seen all, he shut it up, sealed it, and set a guard upon it. As he came out he said to some of the commanders of divisions and captains whom he found at the doors: "Gentlemen, we have earned pay for the army—eight thousand men—for almost a year; and if we earn anything more, that, too, shall be added." He said this because he knew that upon hearing it the soldiers would be far more orderly and obedient. And when Meidias asked: "But as for me, Dercylidas, where am I to dwell?" he replied: "Just where it is most proper that you should dwell, Meidias, —in your native city, Scepsis, and in your father's house."

II. After Dercylidas had accomplished these things and gained possession of nine cities in eight days, he set about planning how he might avoid being a burden to his allies, as Thibron had been, by winter-

εἴη τοῖς συμμάχοις, ὥσπερ Θίβρων, μηδ᾽ αὖ Φαρνάβαζος καταφρονῶν τῇ ἵππῳ κακουργῇ τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις. πέμπει οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐρωτᾷ πότερον βούλεται εἰρήνην ἢ πόλεμον ἔχειν. ὁ μέντοι Φαρνάβαζος νομίσας τὴν Αἰολίδα ἐπιτετειχίσθαι τῇ ἑαυτοῦ οἰκήσει Φρυγίᾳ, σπονδὰς εἵλετο.

2 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν ὁ Δερκυλίδας εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίδα Θρᾴκην ἐκεῖ διεχείμαζεν, οὐδὲ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου πάνυ τι ἀχθομένου· πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ Βιθυνοὶ αὐτῷ ἐπολέμουν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁ Δερκυλίδας ἀσφαλῶς φέρων καὶ ἄγων τὴν Βιθυνίδα καὶ ἄφθονα ἔχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια διετέλει· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Σεύθου πέραθεν σύμμαχοι τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν ἱππεῖς τε ὡς διακόσιοι καὶ πελτασταὶ ὡς τριακόσιοι, οὗτοι στρατοπεδευσάμενοι καὶ περισταυρωσάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ὡς εἴκοσι στάδια, αἰτοῦντες φύλακας τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὸν Δερκυλίδαν τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, ἐξῇσαν ἐπὶ λείαν, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλάμβανον ἀνδρά-

3 ποδά τε καὶ χρήματα. ἤδη δ᾽ ὄντος μεστοῦ τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτοῖς πολλῶν αἰχμαλώτων, καταμαθόντες οἱ Βιθυνοὶ ὅσοι τ᾽ ἐξῇσαν καὶ ὅσους κατέλιπον Ἕλληνας φύλακας, συλλεγέντες παμπληθεῖς πελτασταὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἅμ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ προσπίπτουσι τοῖς ὁπλίταις ὡς διακοσίοις οὖσιν. ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν ἔβαλλον, οἱ δ᾽ ἠκόντιζον εἰς αὐτούς. οἱ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο μὲν καὶ

ing in a friendly country, and how, on the other 399 B.C. hand, Pharnabazus might not, despising the Lacedaemonian army because of his superiority in cavalry, harm the Greek cities. So he sent to Pharnabazus and asked him whether he preferred to have peace or war. And Pharnabazus, thinking that Aeolis had been made a strong base of attack upon his own dwelling-place, Phrygia, chose a truce.

When these things had taken place, Dercylidas went to Bithynian Thrace and there passed the winter, by no means to the displeasure of Pharnabazus, for the Bithynians were often at war with him. And during most of the time Dercylidas was plundering Bithynia in safety and had provisions in abundance; when, however, a force of Odrysians, about two hundred horsemen and about three hundred peltasts, came to him as allies from Seuthes[1] across the strait, these troops, after making a camp about twenty stadia from the Greek army and enclosing it with a palisade, asked Dercylidas for some of his hoplites as a guard for their camp and then sallied forth for booty, and seized many slaves and much property. When their camp was already full of a great deal of plunder, the Bithynians, learning how many went out on the raids and how many Greeks they had left behind as a guard, gathered together in great numbers, peltasts and horsemen, and at daybreak made an attack upon the Greek hoplites, who numbered about two hundred. When the attacking party came near, some of them hurled spears and others threw javelins at the Greeks. And the latter, wounded and slain one after another, and

[1] King of the Odrysians, who dwelt "across the strait" (*i.e.* the Bosporus) in Thrace.

ἀπέθνῃσκον, ἐποίουν δ' οὐδὲν κατειργμένοι ἐν τῷ σταυρώματι ὡς ἀνδρομήκει ὄντι, διασπάσαντες τὸ
4 αὑτῶν ὀχύρωμα ἐφέροντο εἰς αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ ᾗ μὲν ἐκθέοιεν ὑπεχώρουν, καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀπέφευγον πελτασταὶ ὁπλίτας, ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἔνθεν ἠκόντιζον, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ ἐκδρομῇ κατέβαλλον· τέλος δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν αὐλίῳ σηκασθέντες κατηκοντίσθησαν. ἐσώθησαν μέντοι αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ οὗτοι, ἐπεὶ εὐθέως ᾔσθοντο τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐν[1] τῇ μάχῃ διαπεσόντες ἀμελησάντων τῶν Βιθυνῶν.
5 ταχὺ δὲ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενοι οἱ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ τοὺς σκηνοφύλακας τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν Θρᾳκῶν ἀποκτείναντες, ἀπολαβόντες πάντα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα ἀπῆλθον· ὥστε οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεὶ ᾔσθοντο, βοηθοῦντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ηὗρον ἢ νεκροὺς γυμνοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐπανῆλθον οἱ Ὀδρύσαι, θάψαντες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν καὶ πολὺν οἶνον ἐκπιόντες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱπποδρομίαν ποιήσαντες, ὁμοῦ δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς Ἕλλησι στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἦγον καὶ ἔκαον τὴν Βιθυνίδα.
6 Ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ἀποπορευόμενος ὁ Δερκυλίδας ἐκ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Λάμψακον. ἐνταῦθα δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἔρχονται ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν Ἄρακός τε καὶ Ναυβάτης καὶ Ἀντισθένης. οὗτοι δ' ἦλθον ἐπισκεψόμενοι τά τε ἄλλα ὅπως ἔχοι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ Δερκυλίδᾳ ἐροῦντες μένοντι ἄρχειν καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτόν· καὶ

[1] Before ἐν the MSS. have ἀποχωρήσαντες. Kel. brackets.

unable to do the enemy any harm because of being 399 B.C.
shut up in the palisade, which was about the height of a man, finally broke through their own fortification and charged upon them. Then the Bithynians, while they gave way at whatever point the Greeks rushed forth, and easily made their escape, since they were peltasts fleeing from hoplites, kept throwing javelins upon them from the one side and the other and struck down many of them at every sally; and in the end the Greeks were shot down like cattle shut up in a pen. About fifteen of them, however, made their escape to the main Greek camp, and these fifteen only because, as soon as they perceived the situation, they had slipped away in the course of the battle unheeded by the Bithynians. As for the latter, when they had accomplished this speedy victory, had slain the Odrysian Thracians who guarded the tents, and recovered all the booty, they departed; so that the Greeks, on coming to the rescue when they learned of the affair, found nothing in the camp except dead bodies stripped bare. But when the Odrysians returned, they first buried their dead, drank a great deal of wine in their honour, and held a horse-race; and then, from that time on making common camp with the Greeks, they continued to plunder Bithynia and lay it waste with fire.

At the opening of the spring Dercylidas departed 398 B.C.
from Bithynia and came to Lampsacus. While he was there, Aracus, Naubates, and Antisthenes arrived under commission of the authorities at home. They came to observe how matters stood in general in Asia, and to tell Dercylidas to remain there and continue in command for the ensuing year; also to

ἐπιστεῖλαι δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐφόρους συγκαλέσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰπεῖν ὡς ὧν μὲν πρόσθεν ἐποίουν μέμφοιντο αὐτοῖς, ὅτι δὲ νῦν οὐδὲν ἠδίκουν, ἐπαινοῖεν· καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἂν μὲν ἀδικῶσιν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψουσιν, ἂν δὲ δίκαια περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους
7 ποιῶσιν, ἐπαινέσονται αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ μέντοι συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, ὁ τῶν Κυρείων προεστηκὼς ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἡμεῖς μέν ἐσμεν οἱ αὐτοὶ νῦν τε καὶ πέρυσιν· ἄρχων δὲ ἄλλος μὲν νῦν, ἄλλος δὲ τὸ παρελθόν. τὸ οὖν αἴτιον τοῦ νῦν μὲν μὴ ἐξαμαρτάνειν, τότε δέ, αὐτοὶ ἤδη ἱκανοί ἐστε γιγνώσκειν.

8 Συσκηνούντων δὲ τῶν τε οἴκοθεν πρέσβεων καὶ τοῦ Δερκυλίδα, ἐπεμνήσθη τις τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄρακον ὅτι καταλελοίποιεν πρέσβεις τῶν Χερρονησιτῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. τούτους δὲ λέγειν ἔφασαν ὡς νῦν μὲν οὐ δύναιντο τὴν Χερρόνησον ἐργάζεσθαι· φέρεσθαι γὰρ καὶ ἄγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν· εἰ δ' ἀποτειχισθείη ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν, καὶ σφίσιν ἂν γῆν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν εἶναι ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἄλλοις ὁπόσοι βούλοιντο Λακεδαιμονίων. ὥστ' ἔφασαν οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζειν, εἰ καὶ πεμφθείη τις Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῆς πό-
9 λεως σὺν δυνάμει ταῦτα πράξων. ὁ οὖν Δερκυλίδας πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνους οὐκ εἶπεν ἣν ἔχοι γνώμην ταῦτ' ἀκούσας, ἀλλ' ἔπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐπ' Ἐφέσου διὰ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἡδόμενος ὅτι ἔμελλον

tell him that the ephors had given them instructions to call together the soldiers and say that while the ephors censured them for what they had done in former days, they commended them because now they were doing no wrong; they were also to say in regard to the future that if the soldiers were guilty of wrong-doing the ephors would not tolerate it, but if they dealt justly by the allies they would commend them. When, however, they called together the soldiers and told them these things, the leader[1] of Cyrus' former troops replied: "But, men of Lacedaemon, we are the same men now as we were last year; but our commander now is one man, and in the past was another. Therefore you are at once able to judge for yourselves the reason why we are not at fault now, although we were then." 398 B.C.

While the ambassadors from home and Dercylidas were quartered together, one of Aracus' party mentioned the fact that they had left ambassadors from the Chersonesians at Lacedaemon. And they said that these ambassadors stated that now they were unable to till their land in the Chersonese, for it was being continually pillaged by the Thracians; but if it were protected by a wall extending from sea to sea, they and likewise all of the Lacedaemonians who so desired would have an abundance of good, tillable land. Consequently, they said, they would not be surprised if some Lacedaemonian were in fact sent out by the state with an army to perform this task. Now Dercylidas, when he heard this, did not make known to them the purpose which he cherished, but dismissed them on their journey through the Greek cities to Ephesus, being well pleased that

[1] Probably Xenophon himself.

ὄψεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐν εἰρήνῃ εὐδαιμονικῶς δι-
αγούσας. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπορεύοντο. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας
ἐπειδὴ ἔγνω μενετέον ὄν, πάλιν πέμψας πρὸς τὸν
Φαρνάβαζον ἐπήρετο πότερα βούλοιτο σπονδὰς
ἔχειν καθάπερ διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἢ πόλεμον. ἑλο-
μένου δὲ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ τότε σπονδάς,
οὕτω καταλιπὼν καὶ τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα πόλεις[1] ἐν
εἰρήνῃ διαβαίνει τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον σὺν τῷ στρα-
τεύματι εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, καὶ διὰ φιλίας τῆς
Θρᾴκης πορευθεὶς καὶ ξενισθεὶς ὑπὸ Σεύθου ἀφι-
10 κνεῖται εἰς Χερρόνησον. ἣν καταμαθὼν πόλεις
μὲν ἕνδεκα ἢ δώδεκα ἔχουσαν, χώραν δὲ παμφο-
ρωτάτην καὶ ἀρίστην οὖσαν, κεκακωμένην δέ,
ὥσπερ ἐλέγετο, ὑπὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, ἐπεὶ μέτρον
ηὗρε τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα στάδια, οὐκ
ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλὰ θυσάμενος ἐτείχιζε, κατὰ μέρη
διελὼν τοῖς στρατιώταις τὸ χωρίον· καὶ ἆθλα
αὐτοῖς ὑποσχόμενος δώσειν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐκτειχί-
σασι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς ἕκαστοι ἄξιοι εἶεν, ἀπε-
τέλεσε τὸ τεῖχος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ἠρινοῦ χρόνου
πρὸ ὀπώρας. καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους
ἕνδεκα μὲν πόλεις, πολλοὺς δὲ λιμένας, πολλὴν
δὲ κἀγαθὴν σπόριμον, πολλὴν δὲ πεφυτευμένην,
παμπληθεῖς δὲ καὶ παγκάλας νομὰς παντοδαποῖς
11 κτήνεσι. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας διέβαινε πάλιν εἰς
τὴν Ἀσίαν.

Ἐπισκοπῶν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἑώρα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλῶς ἐχούσας, Χίων δὲ φυγάδας ηὗρεν Ἀταρνέα ἔχοντας χωρίον ἰσχυρόν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὁρμωμένους φέροντας καὶ ἄγοντας τὴν Ἰωνίαν, καὶ

[1] After πόλεις the MSS. have φιλίας. Kel. brackets.

they were going to see the cities enjoying a state of peace and prosperity. So they departed. But Dercylidas, having now found out that he was to remain in Asia, sent to Pharnabazus again and asked whether he preferred to have a truce, as during the winter, or war. Since Pharnabazus on this occasion again chose a truce, under these circumstances Dercylidas, leaving the cities of that region also in peace, crossed the Hellespont with his army to Europe, and after marching through a portion of Thrace which was friendly and being entertained by Seuthes, arrived at the Chersonese. And when he learned that this Chersonese contained eleven or twelve towns and was an extremely productive and rich land, but had been ravaged, even as was stated, by the Thracians, and found also that the width of the isthmus was thirty-seven stadia, he did not delay, but after offering sacrifices proceeded to build a wall, dividing the whole distance part by part among the soldiers; and by promising them that he would give prizes to the first who finished their part, and also to the others as they severally might deserve, he completed the wall, although he had not begun upon it until the spring, before the time of harvest. And he brought under the protection of the wall eleven towns, many harbours, a great deal of good land suited for raising grain and fruit, and a vast amount of splendid pasture-land for all kinds of cattle. When he had done this, he crossed back again to Asia. 398 B.C.

As he was now inspecting the cities of Asia, he saw that in general they were in good condition, but found that exiles from Chios held possession of Atarneus, a strong place, and from this as a base were pillaging Ionia and making their living thereby.

ζῶντας ἀπὸ τούτου. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι πολὺς σῖτος ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς, περιστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει· καὶ ἐν ὀκτὼ μησὶ παραστησάμενος αὐτούς, καταστήσας ἐν αὐτῷ Δράκοντα Πελληνέα ἐπιμελητήν, καὶ κατασκευάσας ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἔκπλεω πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἵνα εἴη αὐτῷ καταγωγή, ὁπότε ἀφικνοῖτο, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ἔφεσον, ἣ ἀπέχει ἀπὸ Σάρδεων τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν.

12 Καὶ μέχρι τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἐν εἰρήνῃ διῆγον Τισσαφέρνης τε καὶ Δερκυλίδας καὶ οἱ ταύτῃ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικνούμενοι πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰωνίδων πόλεων ἐδίδασκον ὅτι εἴη ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρνει, εἰ βούλοιτο, ἀφιέναι αὐτονόμους τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις· εἰ οὖν κακῶς πάσχοι Καρία, ἔνθαπερ ὁ Τισσαφέρνους οἶκος, οὕτως ἂν ἔφασαν τάχιστα νομίζειν αὐτὸν[1] αὐτονόμους σφᾶς ἀφεῖναι· ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι ἔπεμψαν πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν, καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν διαβαίνειν σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐπὶ Καρίαν καὶ Φάρακα τὸν ναύαρχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ παραπλεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ'
13 ἐποίουν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ Φαρνάβαζος πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην ἀφιγμένος, ἅμα μὲν ὅτι στρατηγὸς τῶν πάντων ἀπεδέδεικτο Τισσαφέρνης, ἅμα δὲ διαμαρτυρούμενος ὅτι ἕτοιμος εἴη κοινῇ πολεμεῖν καὶ συμμάχεσθαι καὶ συνεκβάλλειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκ τῆς βασιλέως· ἄλλως τε γὰρ ὑπεφθόνει τῆς στρατηγίας τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ἀπεστερημένος. ὁ δ' ἀκούων· Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν,

[1] After αὐτὸν the MSS. have συγχωρήσειν. Kel. brackets.

When he learned further that they had a large stock 398 B.C.
of grain in the city, he invested and besieged them; and in eight months he brought them to terms, appointed Dracon of Pellene to have charge of the city, and after storing in the place all kinds of supplies in abundance, so that he might have it as a halting-place whenever he came there, departed to Ephesus, which is distant from Sardis a three days' journey.

Up to this time Tissaphernes and Dercylidas, and 397 B.C.
the Greeks of this region and the barbarians, continued at peace with one another. Now, however, embassies came to Lacedaemon from the Ionian cities and set forth that it was in the power of Tissaphernes, if he chose, to leave the Greek cities independent; therefore they expressed the belief that if Caria, the particular province where the residence of Tissaphernes was, should suffer harm, under these circumstances he would very quickly leave them independent. When the ephors heard this, they sent to Dercylidas and gave orders that he should cross the river into Caria, and that Pharax, the admiral, should coast along with his ships to the same place. They accordingly did so. Now it chanced that at this time Pharnabazus had come to visit Tissaphernes, not only because Tissaphernes had been appointed general-in-chief, but also for the purpose of assuring him that he was ready to make war together with him, to be his ally, and to aid him in driving the Greeks out of the territory of the King; for he secretly envied Tissaphernes his position as general for various reasons, but in particular he took it hardly that he had been deprived of Aeolis. Now when Tissaphernes heard his words,

ἔφη, διάβηθι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐπὶ Καρίαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ
14 περὶ τούτων βουλευσόμεθα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖ ἦσαν,
ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἱκανὰς φυλακὰς εἰς τὰ ἐρύματα
καταστήσαντας διαβαίνειν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν.
ὡς δ' ἤκουσεν ὁ Δερκυλίδας ὅτι πάλιν πεπερα-
κότες εἰσὶ τὸν Μαίανδρον, εἰπὼν τῷ Φάρακι ὡς
ὀκνοίη μὴ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος
ἐρήμην οὖσαν καταθέοντες φέρωσι καὶ ἄγωσι τὴν
χώραν, διέβαινε καὶ αὐτός. πορευόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι
οὐδέν τι συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι, ὡς προ-
εληλυθότων τῶν πολεμίων εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσίαν,
ἐξαίφνης ὁρῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπέρας σκοποὺς ἐπὶ
15 τῶν μνημάτων· καὶ ἀνταναβιβάσαντες εἰς τὰ
παρ' ἑαυτοῖς μνημεῖα καὶ τύρσεις τινὰς καθορῶσι
παρατεταγμένους ᾗ αὐτοῖς ἦν ἡ ὁδὸς Κᾶράς τε
λευκάσπιδας καὶ τὸ Περσικὸν ὅσον ἐτύγχανε
παρὸν στράτευμα καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὅσον εἶχεν
ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν μάλα πολύ, τὸ μὲν
Τισσαφέρνους ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι, τὸ δὲ Φαρνα-
βάζου ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ.
16 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ᾔσθετο ὁ Δερκυλίδας, τοῖς μὲν
ταξιάρχοις καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς εἶπε παρατάττεσθαι
τὴν ταχίστην εἰς ὀκτώ, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς ἐπὶ τὰ
κράσπεδα ἑκατέρωθεν καθίστασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἱπ-
πέας, ὅσους γε δὴ καὶ οἵους ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων·
17 αὐτὸς δὲ ἐθύετο. ὅσον μὲν δὴ ἦν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου
στράτευμα, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς
μαχούμενον· ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀπὸ Πριήνης τε καὶ
Ἀχιλλείου καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων καὶ τῶν Ἰωνικῶν πό-
λεων, οἱ μέν τινες καταλιπόντες ἐν τῷ σίτῳ τὰ
ὅπλα ἀπεδίδρασκον· καὶ γὰρ ἦν βαθὺς ὁ σῖτος ἐν

he said: "First, then, cross over with me into Caria, and then we will consult about these matters." But when they were there, they decided to station adequate garrisons in the fortresses and to cross back again to Ionia. And when Dercylidas heard that they had crossed the Maeander again, he told Pharax that he was afraid Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus might overrun and pillage the land, unprotected as it was, and so crossed over himself to Ionia. Now while they were on the march, the army being by no means in battle formation, since they supposed that the enemy had gone on ahead into the territory of the Ephesians, on a sudden they saw scouts on the burial-mounds in front of them; and when they also sent men to the tops of the mounds and towers in their neighbourhood, they made out an army drawn up in line of battle where their own road ran—Carians with white shields, the entire Persian force which chanced to be at hand, all the Greek troops which each of the two satraps had, and horsemen in great numbers, those of Tissaphernes upon the right wing and those of Pharnabazus upon the left. 397 B.C.

When Dercylidas learned of all this, he told the commanders of divisions and the captains to form their men in line, eight deep, as quickly as possible, and to station the peltasts on either wing and likewise the cavalry—all that he chanced to have and such as it was; meanwhile he himself offered sacrifice. Now all that part of the army which was from Peloponnesus kept quiet and prepared for battle; but as for the men from Priene and Achilleium, from the islands and the Ionian cities, some of them left their arms in the standing grain (for the grain was tall in the plain of the Maeander) and ran away, while all

τῷ Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ· ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἔμενον, δῆλοι
18 ἦσαν οὐ μενοῦντες. τὸν μὲν οὖν Φαρνάβαζον ἐξηγγέλλετο μάχεσθαι κελεύειν. ὁ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης τό τε Κύρειον στράτευμα καταλογιζόμενος ὡς ἐπολέμησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτῳ πάντας νομίζων ὁμοίους εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἐβούλετο μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέμψας πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν εἶπεν ὅτι εἰς λόγους βούλοιτο αὐτῷ ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ ὁ Δερκυλίδας λαβὼν τοὺς κρατίστους τὰ εἴδη τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν προῆλθε πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ παρεσκευασάμην μὲν ἔγωγε μάχεσθαι, ὡς ὁρᾶτε· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκεῖνος βούλεται εἰς λόγους ἀφικέσθαι, οὐδ' ἐγὼ ἀντιλέγω. ἂν μέντοι ταῦτα δέῃ ποιεῖν, πιστὰ καὶ
19 ὁμήρους δοτέον καὶ ληπτέον. δόξαντα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περανθέντα, τὰ μὲν στρατεύματα ἀπῆλθε, τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν εἰς Τράλλεις τῆς Καρίας, τὸ δ' Ἑλληνικὸν εἰς Λεύκοφρυν, ἔνθα ἦν Ἀρτέμιδός τε ἱερὸν μάλα ἅγιον καὶ λίμνη πλέον ἢ σταδίου ὑπόψαμμος ἀέναος ποτίμου καὶ θερμοῦ ὕδατος. καὶ τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἐπράχθη· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον χωρίον ἦλθον, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πυθέσθαι ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ τίσιν ἂν τὴν εἰρήνην ποιή-
20 σαιντο. ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτονόμους ἐῴη βασιλεὺς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης καὶ Φαρνάβαζος εἶπαν ὅτι εἰ ἐξέλθοι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων ἁρμοσταὶ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντες ἀλλήλοις σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο, ἕως ἀπαγγελθείη τὰ λεχθέντα Δερκυλίδᾳ μὲν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλέα.

those who did stand showed clearly that they would 397 B.C. not stand very long. On the other side Pharnabazus, it was reported, was urging an engagement. But Tissaphernes, remembering the way Cyrus' troops had made war with the Persians and believing that the Greeks were all like them, did not wish to fight, but sent to Dercylidas and said that he wanted to come to a conference with him. And Dercylidas, taking the best-looking of the troops he had, both cavalry and infantry, came forward to meet the messengers and said: "For my part I had prepared to fight, as you see; however, since he wishes to come to a conference, I have no objection myself. But if this is to be done, pledges and hostages must be given and received." When this plan had been decided upon and carried out, the armies went away, the barbarians to Tralles in Caria, and the Greeks to Leucophrys, where there was a very holy shrine of Artemis and a lake more than a stadium in length, with a sandy bottom and an unfailing supply of drinkable, warm water. This, then, was what was done at that time; but on the following day the commanders came to the place agreed upon, and it seemed best to them to learn from one another on what terms each would make peace. Dercylidas accordingly stated his condition, that the King should leave the Greek cities independent; and Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus stated theirs, that the Greek army should depart from the country and the Lacedaemonian governors from the cities. When they had stated these terms to one another, they concluded a truce, to continue until the proposals should be reported by Dercylidas to Lacedaemon, and by Tissaphernes to the King.

21 Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὸ Δερ-
κυλίδα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον,
πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς Ἠλείοις καὶ ὅτι ἐποιή-
σαντο συμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους
καὶ Μαντινέας, καὶ ὅτι δίκην φάσκοντες κατα-
δεδικάσθαι αὐτῶν ἐκώλυον καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ καὶ
τοῦ γυμνικοῦ ἀγῶνος, καὶ οὐ μόνον ταῦτ' ἤρκει,
ἀλλὰ καὶ Λίχα παραδόντος Θηβαίοις τὸ ἅρμα,
ἐπεὶ ἐκηρύττοντο νικῶντες, ὅτε εἰσῆλθε Λίχας
στεφανώσων τὸν ἡνίοχον, μαστιγοῦντες αὐτόν,
22 ἄνδρα γέροντα, ἐξήλασαν. τούτων δ' ὕστερον καὶ
Ἄγιδος πεμφθέντος θῦσαι τῷ Διὶ κατὰ μαντείαν
τινὰ ἐκώλυον οἱ Ἠλεῖοι μὴ προσεύχεσθαι νίκην
πολέμου, λέγοντες ὡς καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἴη οὕτω
νόμιμον, μὴ χρηστηριάζεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐφ'
23 Ἑλλήνων πολέμῳ· ὥστε ἄθυτος ἀπῆλθεν. ἐκ
τούτων οὖν πάντων ὀργιζομένοις ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐφόροις
καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σωφρονίσαι αὐτούς. πέμψαντες
οὖν πρέσβεις εἰς Ἦλιν εἶπον ὅτι τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων δίκαιον δοκοίη εἶναι ἀφιέναι αὐ-
τοὺς τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις αὐτονόμους. ἀπο-
κριναμένων δὲ τῶν Ἠλείων ὅτι οὐ ποιήσοιεν
ταῦτα, ἐπιλῃίδας γὰρ ἔχοιεν τὰς πόλεις, φρουρὰν
ἔφηναν οἱ ἔφοροι. ἄγων δὲ τὸ στράτευμα Ἆγις
ἐνέβαλε διὰ τῆς Ἀχαΐας εἰς τὴν Ἠλείαν κατὰ

[1] *i.e.* at the Olympic games. [2] A Lacedaemonian.

While these things were being done in Asia by Dercylidas, the Lacedaemonians at the same time were engaged in war at home, against the Eleans. They had long been angry with the Eleans, both because the latter had concluded an alliance with the Athenians, Argives, and Mantineans, and because, alleging that judgment had been rendered against the Lacedaemonians, they had debarred them from both the horse-races and the athletic contests;[1] and this alone did not suffice them, but furthermore, after Lichas[2] had made over his chariot to the Thebans and they were proclaimed victorious, when Lichas came in to put the garland upon his charioteer, they had scourged him, an old man, and driven him out. And again, at a later time, when Agis was sent to sacrifice to Zeus in accordance with an oracle, the Eleans would not allow him to pray for victory in war, saying that even from ancient times it was an established principle that Greeks should not consult the oracle about a war with Greeks; so that Agis went away without sacrificing. It was in consequence of all these things that the ephors and the assembly were angry, and they determined to bring the Eleans to their senses. Accordingly, they sent ambassadors to Elis and said that it seemed to the authorities of Lacedaemon to be just that they should leave their outlying towns independent. And when the Eleans replied that they would not do so, for the reason that they held the towns as prizes of war, the ephors called out the ban.[3] And Agis, at the head of the army, made his entrance into the territory of Elis 399 B.C.

[3] φρουρὰν φαίνειν was a Lacedaemonian phrase covering both the declaration of war and the mobilization of the army.

24 Λάρισον. ἄρτι δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὄντος ἐν τῇ
πολεμίᾳ καὶ κοπτομένης τῆς χώρας, σεισμὸς ἐπι-
γίγνεται. ὁ δ' Ἆγις θεῖον ἡγησάμενος ἐξελθὼν
πάλιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας διαφῆκε τὸ στράτευμα. ἐκ
δὲ τούτου οἱ Ἠλεῖοι πολὺ θρασύτεροι ἦσαν, καὶ
διεπρεσβεύοντο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὅσας ᾔδεσαν δυσ-
25 μενεῖς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις οὔσας. περιιόντι δὲ
τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ φαίνουσι πάλιν οἱ ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἐπὶ
τὴν Ἦλιν, καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο τῷ Ἄγιδι πλὴν
Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων οἵ τε ἄλλοι πάντες σύμ-
μαχοι καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐμβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ
Ἄγιδος δι' Αὐλῶνος, εὐθὺς μὲν Λεπρεᾶται ἀπο-
στάντες τῶν Ἠλείων προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ, εὐθὺς
δὲ Μακίστιοι, ἐχόμενοι δ' Ἐπιταλιεῖς. διαβαί-
νοντι δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν προσεχώρουν Λετρῖνοι καὶ
Ἀμφίδολοι καὶ Μαργανεῖς.
26 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐλθὼν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἔθυε
τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ· κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι
ἐπειρᾶτο. θύσας δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορεύετο,
κόπτων καὶ κάων τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὑπέρπολλα
μὲν κτήνη, ὑπέρπολλα δὲ ἀνδράποδα ἡλίσκετο
ἐκ τῆς χώρας· ὥστε ἀκούοντες καὶ ἄλλοι πολ-
λοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἑκόντες ᾖσαν
συστρατευσόμενοι καὶ μετεῖχον τῆς ἁρπαγῆς.
καὶ ἐγένετο αὕτη ἡ στρατεία ὥσπερ ἐπισιτισμὸς
27 τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν
πόλιν, τὰ μὲν προάστια καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καλὰ
ὄντα ἐλυμαίνετο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν (ἀτείχιστος γὰρ
ἦν) ἐνόμισαν αὐτὸν μὴ βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μὴ

through Achaea, along the Larisus. Now when the army had but just arrived in the enemy's country and the land was being laid waste, an earthquake took place. Then Agis, thinking that this was a heaven-sent sign, departed again from the country and disbanded his army. As a result of this the Eleans were much bolder, and sent around embassies to all the states which they knew to be unfriendly to the Lacedaemonians. In the course of the year, however, the ephors again called out the ban against Elis, and with the exception of the Boeotians and the Corinthians all the allies, including the Athenians, took part with Agis in the campaign. Now when Agis entered Elis by way of Aulon, the Lepreans at once revolted from the Eleans and came over to him, the Macistians likewise at once, and after them the Epitalians. And while he was crossing the river, the Letrinians, Amphidolians, and Marganians came over to him. 399 B.C.

Thereupon he went to Olympia and offered sacrifices to Olympian Zeus, and this time no one undertook to prevent him. After his sacrifices he marched upon the city of Elis, laying the land waste with axe and fire as he went, and vast numbers of cattle and vast numbers of slaves were captured in the country; insomuch that many more of the Arcadians and Achaeans, on hearing the news, came of their own accord to join the expedition and shared in the plunder. In fact this campaign proved to be a harvest, as it were, for Peloponnesus. When Agis reached the city he did some harm to the suburbs and the gymnasia, which were beautiful, but as for the city itself (for it was unwalled) the Lacedaemonians thought that he was unwilling, rather than unable, to capture 398 B.C.

δύνασθαι ἑλεῖν. δηουμένης δὲ τῆς χώρας, καὶ οὔσης τῆς στρατιᾶς περὶ Κυλλήνην, βουλόμενοι οἱ περὶ Ξενίαν, τὸν λεγόμενον μεδίμνῳ ἀπομετρήσασθαι τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀργύριον, τὴν πόλιν[1] δι' αὐτῶν προσχωρῆσαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐκπεσόντες ἐξ οἰκίας ξίφη ἔχοντες σφαγὰς ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἄλλους τέ τινας ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ ὅμοιόν τινα Θρασυδαίῳ ἀποκτείναντες τῷ τοῦ δήμου προστάτῃ ᾤοντο Θρασυδαῖον ἀπεκτονέναι, ὥστε ὁ μὲν δῆμος παντελῶς κατηθύμησε καὶ ἡσυ-

28 χίαν εἶχεν, οἱ δὲ σφαγεῖς πάντ' ᾤοντο πεπραγμένα εἶναι, καὶ οἱ ὁμογνώμονες αὐτοῖς ἐξεφέροντο τὰ ὅπλα εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ὁ δὲ Θρασυδαῖος ἔτι καθεύδων ἐτύγχανεν οὗπερ ἐμεθύσθη. ὡς δὲ ᾔσθετο ὁ δῆμος ὅτι οὐ τέθνηκεν,[2] περιεπλήσθη ἡ οἰκία ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἑσμοῦ

29 μελιττῶν ὁ ἡγεμών. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡγεῖτο ὁ Θρασυδαῖος ἀναλαβὼν τὸν δῆμον, γενομένης μάχης ἐκράτησεν ὁ δῆμος, ἐξέπεσον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους οἱ ἐγχειρήσαντες ταῖς σφαγαῖς. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ὁ Ἆγις ἀπιὼν διέβη πάλιν τὸν Ἀλφειόν, φρουροὺς καταλιπὼν ἐν Ἐπιταλίῳ πλησίον τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ καὶ Λύσιππον ἁρμοστὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἤλιδος φυγάδας, τὸ μὲν στράτευμα διῆκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθε.

30 Καὶ τὸ μὲν λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα χειμῶνα ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυσίππου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐφέρετο καὶ ἤγετο ἡ τῶν Ἠλείων χώρα. τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος θέρους πέμψας Θρασυδαῖος εἰς Λακεδαίμονα συνεχώρησε Φέας τε τὸ τεῖχος περιελεῖν

[1] τὴν πόλιν: inserted by Leunclavius, whom Kel. follows.
[2] After τέθνηκεν the MSS. have ὁ Θρασυδαῖος. Kel. brackets.

it. Now while the country was being ravaged and the Lacedaemonian army was in the neighbourhood of Cyllene, the party of Xenias—the man of whom it was said that he measured out with a bushel measure the money he received from his father—wishing to have their city go over to the Lacedaemonians and to receive the credit for this, rushed out of a house, armed with swords, and began a slaughter; and having killed, among others, a man who resembled Thrasydaeus, the leader of the commons, they supposed that they had killed Thrasydaeus himself, so that the commons lost heart entirely and kept quiet, while the men engaged in the slaughter supposed that everything was already accomplished and their sympathizers gathered under arms in the market-place. But it chanced that Thrasydaeus was still asleep at the very place where he had become drunk. And when the commons learned that he was not dead, they gathered round his house on all sides, as a swarm of bees around its leader. And when Thrasydaeus put himself at their head and led the way, a battle took place in which the commons were victorious, and those who had undertaken the slaughter were forced to flee to the Lacedaemonians. As for Agis, when he departed and crossed the Alpheus again, after leaving a garrison in Epitalium near the Alpheus, with Lysippus as governor, and also leaving there the exiles from Elis, he disbanded his army and returned home himself. 398 B.C.

During the rest of the summer and the ensuing winter the country of the Eleans was plundered by Lysippus and the men with him. But in the course of the following summer Thrasydaeus sent to Lacedaemon and agreed to tear down the walls of Phea 397 B.C.

καὶ Κυλλήνης καὶ τὰς Τριφυλίδας πόλεις ἀφεῖναι Φρίξαν καὶ Ἐπιτάλιον καὶ Λετρίνους καὶ Ἀμφιδόλους καὶ Μαργανέας, πρὸς δὲ ταύταις καὶ Ἀκρωρείους καὶ Λασιῶνα τὸν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων ἀντιλεγόμενον. Ἤπειον μέντοι τὴν μεταξὺ πόλιν Ἡραίας καὶ Μακίστου ἠξίουν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι ἔχειν· πρίασθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν παρὰ τῶν τότε ἐχόντων τὴν πόλιν τριάκοντα ταλάντων,
31 καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον δεδωκέναι. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γνόντες μηδὲν δικαιότερον εἶναι βίᾳ πριαμένους ἢ βίᾳ ἀφελομένους παρὰ τῶν ἡττόνων λαμβάνειν, ἀφιέναι καὶ ταύτην ἠνάγκασαν· τοῦ μέντοι προεστάναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἱεροῦ, καίπερ οὐκ ἀρχαίου Ἠλείοις ὄντος, οὐκ ἀπήλασαν αὐτούς, νομίζοντες τοὺς ἀντιποιουμένους χωρίτας εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ἱκανοὺς προεστάναι. τούτων δὲ συγχωρηθέντων εἰρήνη τε γίγνεται καὶ συμμαχία Ἠλείων πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἠλείων πόλεμος ἔληξε.

III. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἆγις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἀποθύσας, πάλιν ἀπιὼν ἔκαμεν ἐν Ἡραίᾳ, γέρων ἤδη ὤν, καὶ ἀπηνέχθη μὲν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἔτι ζῶν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ταχὺ ἐτελεύτησε· καὶ ἔτυχε σεμνοτέρας ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ταφῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡσιώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι, καὶ ἔδει βασιλέα καθιστασθαι, ἀντέλεγον περὶ βασιλείας Λεωτυχίδης, υἱὸς φάσκων Ἄγιδος εἶναι, Ἀγη-

and Cyllene, to leave the Triphylian towns of Phrixa and Epitalium independent, likewise the Letrinians, Amphidolians, and Marganians, and besides these the Acrorians and the town of Lasion, which was claimed by the Arcadians. The Eleans, however, claimed the right to hold Epeum, the town between Heraea and Macistus; for they said that they had bought the whole territory for thirty talents from the people to whom the town at that time belonged, and had paid the money. But the Lacedaemonians, deciding that it was no more just to get property from the weaker by a forced purchase than by a forcible seizure, compelled them to leave this town also independent; they did not, however, dispossess them of the presidency of the shrine of Olympian Zeus, even though it did not belong to the Eleans in ancient times, for they thought that the rival claimants[1] were country people and not competent to hold the presidency. When these things had been agreed upon, a peace and an alliance were concluded between the Eleans and the Lacedaemonians. And so the war between the Lacedaemonians and the Eleans ended. 397 B.C.

III. After this Agis, having gone to Delphi and offered to the god the appointed tithe of his booty, on his way back fell sick at Heraea, being now an old man, and although he was still living when brought home to Lacedaemon, once there he very soon died; and he received a burial more splendid than belongs to man. When the prescribed days of mourning had been religiously observed and it was necessary to appoint a king, Leotychides, who claimed to be a son of Agis, and Agesilaus, a brother of Agis, con-

[1] The Pisatans, who had had charge of the Olympic shrine and games up to 580 B.C.

2 σίλαος δὲ ἀδελφός. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Λεωτυχίδου· Ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, οὐκ ἀδελφὸν ἀλλ' υἱὸν βασιλέως βασιλεύειν κελεύει· εἰ δὲ υἱὸς ὢν μὴ τυγχάνοι, ὁ ἀδελφὸς κα ὣς βασιλεύοι. Ἐμὲ ἂν δέοι βασιλεύειν. Πῶς, ἐμοῦ γε ὄντος; Ὅτι ὃν τὺ καλεῖς πατέρα, οὐκ ἔφη σε εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ. Ἀλλ' ἡ πολὺ κάλλιον ἐκείνου εἰδυῖα μήτηρ καὶ νῦν ἔτι φησίν. Ἀλλὰ ὁ Ποτειδὰν ὡς[1] μάλα σευ ψευδομένω κατεμήνυσεν ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου ἐξελάσας σεισμῷ εἰς τὸ φανερὸν τὸν σὸν πατέρα. συνεμαρτύρησε δὲ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀληθέστατος λεγόμενος χρόνος εἶναι· ἐξ οὗ γάρ τοι ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῶ θαλάμω,[2] δεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐγένου. οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτ'
3 ἔλεγον. Διοπείθης δέ, μάλα χρησμολόγος ἀνήρ, Λεωτυχίδῃ συναγορεύων εἶπεν ὡς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος χρησμὸς εἴη φυλάξασθαι τὴν χωλὴν βασιλείαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου ἀντεῖπεν ὡς οὐκ οἴοιτο τὸν θεὸν τοῦτο κελεύειν φυλάξασθαι, μὴ προσπταίσας τις χωλεύσαι,[3] ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐκ ὢν τοῦ γένους βασιλεύσειε. παντάπασι γὰρ ἂν χωλὴν εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν ὁπότε
4 μὴ οἱ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους τῆς πόλεως ἡγοῖντο. τοιαῦτα δὲ ἀκούσασα ἡ πόλις ἀμφοτέρων Ἀγησίλαον εἵλοντο βασιλέα.

Οὔπω δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὄντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἀγησιλάου, θύοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τεταγμένων τινὰ θυσιῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἶπεν ὁ μάντις ὅτι

[1] ὡς MSS.: καὶ Kel.
[2] ἐξ οὗ γάρ τοι ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῶ θαλάμω Hartman: ἀφ' οὗ γάρ τοι ἔφυσε καὶ ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ MSS., which Kel. follows, changing τοι to τυ.
[3] χωλεύσαι MSS.: Kel. inserts after it τὴν βασιλείαν.

tended for the kingship. And Leotychides said: "But, Agesilaus, the law directs, not that a brother, but that a son of a king, should be king; if, however, there should chance to be no son, in that case the brother would be king." "It is I, then, who should be king." "How so, when I am alive?" "Because he whom you call your father said that you were not his son." "Nay, but my mother, who knows far better than he did, says even to this day that I am." "But Poseidon showed that you are entirely in the wrong, for he drove your father[1] out of her chamber into the open by an earthquake. And time also, which is said to be the truest witness, gave testimony that the god was right; for you were born in the tenth month from the time when he fled from the chamber." Such were the words which passed between these two. But Diopeithes, a man very well versed in oracles, said in support of Leotychides that there was also an oracle of Apollo which bade the Lacedaemonians beware of the lame kingship.[2] Lysander, however, made reply to him, on behalf of Agesilaus, that he did not suppose the god was bidding them beware lest a king of theirs should get a sprain and become lame, but rather lest one who was not of the royal stock should become king. For the kingship would be lame in very truth when it was not the descendants of Heracles who were at the head of the state. After hearing such arguments from both claimants the state chose Agesilaus king. 397 B.C.

When Agesilaus had been not yet a year in the kingly office, once while he was offering one of the appointed sacrifices in behalf of the state, the seer

[1] Leotychides was reputed to be the son of Alcibiades. For the incident here mentioned *cp.* Plut. *Alc.* 23.

[2] Agesilaus was lame.

ἐπιβουλήν τινα τῶν δεινοτάτων φαίνοιεν οἱ θεοί.
ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἔθυεν, ἔτι δεινότερα ἔφη τὰ
ἱερὰ φαίνεσθαι. τὸ τρίτον δὲ θύοντος, εἶπεν·
Ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ὥσπερ εἰ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἴημεν τοῖς
πολεμίοις, οὕτω μοι σημαίνεται. ἐκ δὲ τούτου
θύοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις καὶ τοῖς σωτῆρσι,
καὶ μόλις καλλιερήσαντες, ἐπαύσαντο. ληγούσης
δὲ τῆς θυσίας ἐντὸς πένθ' ἡμερῶν καταγορεύει
τις πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν
5 τοῦ πράγματος Κινάδωνα. οὗτος δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ
εἶδος νεανίσκος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εὔρωστος, οὐ μέν-
τοι τῶν ὁμοίων. ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων πῶς
φαίη τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔσεσθαι, εἶπεν ὁ εἰσαγγείλας
ὅτι ὁ Κινάδων ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον τῆς
ἀγορᾶς ἀριθμῆσαι κελεύοι ὁπόσοι εἶεν Σπαρ-
τιᾶται ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἀριθμήσας
βασιλέα τε καὶ ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας καὶ ἄλλους
ὡς τετταράκοντα, ἠρόμην· Τί δή με τούτους, ὦ
Κινάδων, ἐκέλευσας ἀριθμῆσαι; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Τού-
τους, ἔφη, νόμιζέ σοι πολεμίους εἶναι, τοὺς δ'
ἄλλους πάντας συμμάχους πλέον ἢ τετρακισ-
χιλίους ὄντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. ἐπιδεικνύναι
δ' αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἔνθα μὲν ἕνα, ἔνθα δὲ
δύο πολεμίους ἀπαντῶντας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἅπαν-
τας συμμάχους· καὶ ὅσοι δὴ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις
Σπαρτιατῶν τύχοιεν ὄντες, ἕνα μὲν πολέμιον τὸν
δεσπότην, συμμάχους δ' ἐν ἑκάστῳ πολλούς.

---

[1] *i.e.* those who enjoyed full rights of citizenship, the "Spartiatae."

said that the gods revealed a conspiracy of the most terrible sort. And when he sacrificed again, the seer said that the signs appeared still more terrible. And upon his sacrificing for the third time, he said: "Agesilaus, just such a sign is given me as would be given if we were in the very midst of the enemy." Thereupon they made offerings to the gods who avert evil and to those who grant safety, and having with difficulty obtained favourable omens, ceased sacrificing. And within five days after the sacrifice was ended a man reported to the ephors a conspiracy, and Cinadon as the head of the affair. This Cinadon was a young man, sturdy of body and stout of heart, but not one of the peers.[1] And when the ephors asked how he had said that the plan would be carried out, the informer replied that Cinadon had taken him to the edge of the market-place and directed him to count how many Spartiatae there were in the market-place.[2] "And I," he said, "after counting king and ephors and senators and about forty others, asked 'Why, Cinadon, did you bid me count these men?' And he replied: 'Believe,' said he, 'that these men are your enemies, and that all the others who are in the market-place, more than four thousand in number, are your allies.'" In the streets also, the informer said, Cinadon pointed out as enemies here one and there two who met them, and all the rest as allies; and of all who chanced to be on the country estates belonging to Spartiatae, while there would be one whom he would point out as an enemy, namely the master, yet there would be many on each 397 B.C.

[2] The Spartiatae, always few in number in comparison with the other elements of the Laconian population (see below), were now becoming steadily fewer by reason of constant wars and the demoralising influence of wealth and luxury.

6 ἐρωτώντων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων πόσους φαίη καὶ τοὺς συνειδότας τὴν πρᾶξιν εἶναι, λέγειν καὶ περὶ τούτου ἔφη αὐτὸν ὡς σφίσι μὲν τοῖς προστατεύουσιν οὐ πάνυ πολλοί, ἀξιόπιστοι δὲ συνειδεῖεν· αὐτοὶ μέντοι πᾶσιν ἔφασαν συνειδέναι καὶ εἵλωσι καὶ νεοδαμώδεσι καὶ τοῖς ὑπομείοσι καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις· ὅπου γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τις λόγος γένοιτο περὶ Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρύπτειν τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἡδέως ἂν καὶ ὠμῶν ἐσθίειν αὐτῶν.
7 πάλιν οὖν ἐρωτώντων· Ὅπλα δὲ πόθεν ἔφασαν λήψεσθαι[1]; τὸν δ' εἰπεῖν ὅτι οἱ μὲν δήπου συντεταγμένοι ἡμῶν αὐτοὶ ὅπλα[2] κεκτήμεθα, τῷ δ' ὄχλῳ, ἀγαγόντα εἰς τὸν σίδηρον ἐπιδεῖξαι αὐτὸν ἔφη πολλὰς μὲν μαχαίρας, πολλὰ δὲ ξίφη, πολλοὺς δὲ ὀβελίσκους, πολλοὺς δὲ πελέκεις καὶ ἀξίνας, πολλὰ δὲ δρέπανα. λέγειν δ' αὐτὸν ἔφη ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ὅπλα πάντ' εἴη ὁπόσοις ἄνθρωποι καὶ γῆν καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τεχνῶν τὰς πλείστας τὰ ὄργανα ὅπλα ἔχειν ἀρκοῦντα, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ἀόπλους. πάλιν αὖ ἐρωτώμενος ἐν τίνι χρόνῳ μέλλοι ταῦτα πράττεσθαι, εἶπεν ὅτι ἐπιδημεῖν οἱ παρηγγελμένον εἴη.

8 Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι ἐσκεμμένα τε λέγειν ἡγήσαντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεπλάγησαν, καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν μικρὰν καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν συλλέξαντες, ἀλλὰ συλλεγόμενοι τῶν γερόντων ἄλλος ἄλλοθι ἐβουλεύσαντο πέμψαι τὸν Κινάδωνα εἰς Αὐλῶνα σὺν ἄλλοις τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ κελεῦσαι

[1] After this word Kel. assumes a lacuna.

[2] αὐτοὶ ὅπλα Sauppe: αὐτοὶ ἔφασάν γε ὅπλα MSS.: αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ὅσον γε δεῖ ὅπλα Kel.

estate named as allies. When the ephors asked how 397 B.C. many Cinadon said there really were who were in the secret of this affair, the informer replied that he said in regard to this point that those who were in the secret with himself and the other leaders were by no means many, though trustworthy; the leaders, however, put it this way, that it was they who knew the secret of all the others—Helots, freedmen, lesser Spartiatae, and Perioeci; for whenever among these classes any mention was made of Spartiatae, no one was able to conceal the fact that he would be glad to eat them raw. When the ephors asked again: "And where did they say they would get weapons?" the informer replied that Cinadon said: "Of course those of us who are in the army have weapons of our own, and as for the masses"—he led him, he said, to the iron market, and showed him great quantities of knives, swords, spits, axes, hatchets, and sickles. And he said, the informer continued, that all those tools with which men work the land and timber and stone were likewise weapons, and that most of the other industries also had in their implements adequate weapons, especially against unarmed men. When he was asked again at what time this thing was to be done, he said that orders had been given him to stay in the city.

Upon hearing these statements the ephors came to the conclusion that he was describing a well-considered plan, and were greatly alarmed; and without even convening the Little Assembly,[1] as it was called, but merely gathering about them—one ephor here and another there—some of the senators, they decided to send Cinadon to Aulon along with others of the

[1] The reference is uncertain.

ἥκειν ἄγοντα τῶν Αὐλωνιτῶν τέ τινας καὶ τῶν εἱλώτων τοὺς ἐν τῇ σκυτάλῃ γεγραμμένους. ἀγαγεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἣ καλλίστη μὲν αὐτόθι ἐλέγετο εἶναι, λυμαίνεσθαι δ' ἐδόκει τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ νεωτέρους. 9 *ὑπηρετήκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλ' ἤδη ὁ Κινάδων τοῖς ἐφόροις τοιαῦτα. καὶ τότε δὴ ἔδοσαν τὴν σκυτάλην ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾗ γεγραμμένοι ἦσαν οὓς ἔδει συλληφθῆναι. ἐρομένου δὲ τίνας ἄγοι μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν νέων· Ἴθι, ἔφασαν, καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν ἱππαγρετῶν κέλευέ σοι συμπέμψαι ἓξ ἢ ἑπτὰ οἳ ἂν τύχωσι παρόντες. ἐμεμελήκει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπως ὁ ἱππαγρέτης εἰδείη οὓς δέοι πέμπειν, καὶ οἱ πεμπόμενοι εἰδεῖεν ὅτι Κινάδωνα δέοι συλλαβεῖν. εἶπον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Κινάδωνι, ὅτι πέμψοιεν τρεῖς ἁμάξας, ἵνα μὴ πεζοὺς ἄγωσι τοὺς ληφθέντας, ἀφανίζοντες ὡς ἐδύναντο μάλιστα ὅτι ἐφ' ἕνα ἐκεῖνον ἔπεμπον.*

10 *ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει οὐ συνελάμβανον αὐτόν, ὅτι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ᾔδεσαν ὁπόσον τὸ μέγεθος εἴη, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι πρῶτον ἐβούλοντο τοῦ Κινάδωνος οἵτινες εἶεν οἱ συμπράττοντες, πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι αὐτοὺς ὅτι μεμήνυνται, ἵνα μὴ ἀποδρῶσιν. ἔμελλον δὲ οἱ συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν μὲν κατέχειν, τοὺς δὲ συνειδότας πυθόμενοι αὐτοῦ γράψαντες ἀποπέμπειν τὴν ταχίστην τοῖς ἐφόροις. οὕτω δ' ἔσχον οἱ ἔφοροι πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὥστε καὶ μόραν*

younger men, and to order him to bring back with 397 B.C.
him certain of the Aulonians and Helots whose names were written in the official dispatch. And they ordered him to bring also the woman who was said to be the most beautiful woman in Aulon and was thought to be corrupting the Lacedaemonians who came there, older and younger alike. Now Cinadon had performed other services of a like sort for the ephors in the past; so this time they gave him the dispatch in which were written the names of those who were to be arrested. And when he asked which of the young men he should take with him, they said: "Go and bid the eldest of the commanders of the guard to send with you six or seven of those who may chance to be at hand." In fact they had taken care that the commander should know whom he was to send, and that those who were sent should know that it was Cinadon whom they were to arrest. The ephors said this thing besides to Cinadon, that they would send three wagons, so that they would not have to bring back the prisoners on foot—trying to conceal, as far as they could, the fact that they were sending after one man—himself. The reason they did not plan to arrest him in the city was that they did not know how great was the extent of the plot, and they wished to hear from Cinadon who his accomplices were before these should learn that they had been informed against, in order to prevent their escaping. Accordingly, those who made the arrest were to detain Cinadon, and after learning from him the names of his confederates, to write them down and send them back as quickly as possible to the ephors. And so seriously did the ephors regard the matter that they

11 ἱππέων ἔπεμψαν τοῖς ἐπ' Αὐλῶνος. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰλημμένου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἧκεν ἱππεὺς φέρων τὰ ὀνόματα ὧν ὁ Κινάδων ἀπέγραψε, παραχρῆμα τόν τε μάντιν Τισαμενὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους συνελάμβανον. ὡς δ' ἀνήχθη ὁ Κινάδων καὶ ἠλέγχετο, καὶ ὡμολόγει πάντα καὶ τοὺς συνειδότας ἔλεγε, τέλος αὐτὸν ἤροντο τί καὶ βουλόμενος ταῦτα πράττοι. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, Μηδενὸς ἥττων εἶναι ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι ἤδη δεδεμένος καὶ τὼ χεῖρε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐν κλοιῷ μαστιγούμενος καὶ κεντούμενος αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν περιήγοντο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῆς δίκης ἔτυχον.

IV. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἡρώδας τις Συρακόσιος ἐν Φοινίκῃ ὢν μετὰ ναυκλήρου τινός, καὶ ἰδὼν τριήρεις Φοινίσσας, τὰς μὲν καταπλεούσας ἄλλοθεν, τὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ πεπληρωμένας, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἔτι κατασκευαζομένας, προσακούσας δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι τριακοσίας αὐτὰς δέοι γενέσθαι, ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀναγόμενον πλοῖον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὡς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους τὸν στόλον τοῦτον παρασκευαζο-
2 μένων· ὅποι δὲ οὐδὲν ἔφη εἰδέναι. ἀνεπτερωμένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους συναγόντων καὶ βουλευομένων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, Λύσανδρος νομίζων καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ πολὺ περιέσεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὸ πεζὸν λογιζόμενος ὡς ἐσώθη τὸ μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάν, πείθει τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὑποστῆναι, ἂν αὐτῷ δῶσι τριάκοντα

even sent a regiment of cavalry to support the men 397 B.C.
who had set out for Aulon. When the man had been seized and a horseman had returned with the names of those whom Cinadon had listed, the ephors immediately proceeded to arrest the seer Tisamenus and the most influential of the others. And when Cinadon was brought back and questioned, and confessed everything and told the names of his confederates, they asked him finally what in the world was his object in undertaking this thing. He replied: "I wished to be inferior to no one in Lacedaemon." Thereupon he was straightway bound fast, neck and arms, in a collar, and under scourge and goad was dragged about through the city, he and those with him. And so they met their punishment.

IV. After this a Syracusan named Herodas, being 396 B.C.
in Phoenicia with a certain shipowner, and seeing Phoenician war-ships—some of them sailing in from other places, others lying there fully manned, and yet others still making ready for sea—and hearing, besides, that there were to be three hundred of them, embarked on the first boat that sailed to Greece and reported to the Lacedaemonians that the King and Tissaphernes were preparing this expedition; but whither it was bound he said he did not know. Now while the Lacedaemonians were in a state of great excitement, and were gathering together their allies and taking counsel as to what they should do, Lysander, thinking that the Greeks would be far superior on the sea, and reflecting that the land force which went up country with Cyrus had returned safely, persuaded Agesilaus to promise, in case the Lacedaemonians would give him

μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν, εἰς δισχιλίους δὲ τῶν νεοδαμώδων, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, στρατεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ αὐτὸς συνεξελθεῖν αὐτῷ ἐβούλετο, ὅπως τὰς δεκαρχίας τὰς κατασταθείσας ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐκπεπτωκυίας δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους, οἳ τὰς πατρίους πολιτείας παρήγγειλαν, πάλιν καταστήσειε μετ᾽ Ἀγησιλάου.
3 ἐπαγγειλαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν στρατείαν, διδόασί τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσαπερ ᾔτησε καὶ ἑξαμήνου σῖτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ θυσάμενος ὅσα ἔδει καὶ τἆλλα καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐξῆλθε, ταῖς μὲν πόλεσι διαπέμψας ἀγγέλους προεῖπεν ὅσους τε δέοι ἑκασταχόθεν πέμπεσθαι καὶ ὅπου παρεῖναι, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐβουλήθη ἐλθὼν θῦσαι ἐν Αὐλίδι, ἔνθαπερ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ὅτ᾽ εἰς Τροίαν ἔπλει ἐθύετο.
4 ὡς δ᾽ ἐκεῖ ἐγένετο, πυθόμενοι οἱ βοιώταρχοι ὅτι θύοι, πέμψαντες ἱππέας τοῦ τε λοιποῦ εἶπαν μὴ θύειν καὶ οἷς ἐνέτυχον ἱεροῖς τεθυμένοις διέρριψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. ὁ δ᾽ ἐπιμαρτυράμενος τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ὀργιζόμενος, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπέπλει. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Γεραστόν, καὶ συλλέξας ἐκεῖ ὅσον ἐδύνατο τοῦ στρατεύματος πλεῖστον εἰς Ἔφεσον τὸν στόλον ἐποιεῖτο.
5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἀφίκετο, πρῶτον μὲν Τισ-

[1] In the cities which fell under his control after the battle of Aegospotami Lysander had established oligarchical governments, the supreme power being lodged in a council of ten, corresponding to the "Thirty" at Athens.

thirty Spartiatae, two thousand emancipated Helots, 396 B.C.
and a contingent of six thousand of the allies, to make an expedition to Asia. Such were the motives which actuated Lysander, but, in addition, he wanted to make the expedition with Agesilaus on his own account also, in order that with the aid of Agesilaus he might re-establish the decarchies[1] which had been set up by him in the cities, but had been overthrown through the ephors, who had issued a proclamation restoring to the cities their ancient form of government. When Agesilaus offered to undertake the campaign, the Lacedaemonians gave him everything he asked for and provisions for six months. And when he marched forth from the country after offering all the sacrifices which were required, including that at the frontier,[2] he dispatched messengers to the various cities and announced how many men were to be sent from each city, and where they were to report; while as for himself, he desired to go and offer sacrifice at Aulis, the place where Agamemnon had sacrificed before he sailed to Troy. When he had reached Aulis, however, the Boeotarchs,[3] on learning that he was sacrificing, sent horsemen and bade him discontinue his sacrificing, and they threw from the altar the victims which they found already offered. Then Agesilaus, calling the gods to witness, and full of anger, embarked upon his trireme and sailed away. And when he arrived at Gerastus and had collected there as large a part of his army as he could, he directed his course to Ephesus.

When he reached Ephesus, Tissaphernes at once

[2] Spartan commanders always offered sacrifices to Zeus and Athena before crossing the Laconian frontier.

[3] The presiding officials of the Boeotian League.

σαφέρνης πέμψας ἤρετο αὐτὸν τίνος δεόμενος ἥκοι. ὁ δ' εἶπεν αὐτονόμους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις εἶναι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑλλάδι. πρὸς ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Τισσαφέρνης· Εἰ τοίνυν θέλεις σπείσασθαι ἕως ἂν ἐγὼ πρὸς βασιλέα πέμψω, οἶμαι ἄν σε ταῦτα διαπραξάμενον ἀποπλεῖν, εἰ βούλοιο. Ἀλλὰ βουλοίμην ἄν, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ οἰοίμην γε ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι. Ἀλλ' ἔξεστιν, ἔφη, σοὶ τούτων πίστιν λαβεῖν ἦ μὴν ἀδόλως[1] σοῦ πράττοντος ταῦτα ἡμᾶς μηδὲν τῆς
6 σῆς ἀρχῆς ἀδικήσειν ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς. ἐπὶ τούτοις ῥηθεῖσι Τισσαφέρνης μὲν ὤμοσε τοῖς πεμφθεῖσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἡριππίδᾳ καὶ Δερκυλίδᾳ καὶ Μεγίλλῳ ἦ μὴν πράξειν ἀδόλως τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀντώμοσαν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου Τισσαφέρνει ἦ μὴν ταῦτα πράττοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμπεδώσειν τὰς σπονδάς. ὁ μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἃ ὤμοσεν εὐθὺς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην ἔχειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε πρόσθεν μετεπέμπετο. Ἀγησίλαος δέ, καίπερ αἰσθανόμενος ταῦτα, ὅμως ἐπέμενε[2] ταῖς σπονδαῖς.

7 Ὡς δὲ ἡσυχίαν τε καὶ σχολὴν ἔχων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ἅτε συντεταραγμένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν πολιτειῶν, καὶ οὔτε δημοκρατίας ἔτι οὔσης, ὥσπερ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε δεκαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου, ἅτε γιγνώσκοντες πάντες τὸν Λύσανδρον, προσέκειντο αὐτῷ ἀξιοῦντες διαπράττεσθαι αὐτὸν παρ' Ἀγησιλάου ὧν ἐδέοντο· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀεὶ παμπληθὴς

[1] ἀδόλως: after this word Kel. and others insert the following: ἐμὲ ταῦτα πράξειν. Καὶ σοὶ δέ, ἔφη, ἔξεστι παρ' ἐμοῦ πίστιν λαβεῖν ἦ μὴν ἀδόλως. [2] ἐπέμενε MSS.: ἐνέμενε Kel.

sent and asked him with what intent he had come. 396 B.C. And he answered: "That the cities in Asia shall be independent, as are those in our part of Greece." In reply to this Tissaphernes said: "Then if you are willing to make a truce until I can send to the King, I think you could accomplish this object and, if you should so desire, sail back home." "Indeed I should so desire," said he, "if I could but think that I was not being deceived by you." "But," said he, "it is possible for you to receive a guarantee on this point, that in very truth and without guile, if you follow this course, we will do no harm to any part of your domain during the truce." After this agreement had been reached, Tissaphernes made oath to the commissioners who were sent to him, Herippidas, Dercylidas, and Megillus, that in very truth and without guile he would negotiate the peace, and they in turn made oath on behalf of Agesilaus to Tissaphernes that in very truth, if he did this, Agesilaus would steadfastly observe the truce. Now Tissaphernes straightway violated the oaths which he had sworn; for instead of keeping peace he sent to the King for a large army in addition to that which he had before. But Agesilaus, though he was aware of this, nevertheless continued to abide by the truce.

Meanwhile, during the time that Agesilaus was spending in quiet and leisure at Ephesus, since the governments in the cities were in a state of confusion—for it was no longer democracy, as in the time of Athenian rule, nor decarchy, as in the time of Lysander—and since the people all knew Lysander, they beset him with requests that he should obtain from Agesilaus the granting of their petitions; and for this reason a very great crowd was continually

ὄχλος θεραπεύων αὐτὸν ἠκολούθει, ὥστε ὁ μὲν
Ἀγησίλαος ἰδιώτης ἐφαίνετο, ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος
8 βασιλεύς. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔμηνε καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον
ταῦτα ἐδήλωσεν ὕστερον· οἵ γε μὴν ἄλλοι τριά-
κοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου οὐκ ἐσίγων, ἀλλ' ἔλεγον
πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὡς παράνομα ποιοίη Λύ-
σανδρος τῆς βασιλείας ὀγκηρότερον διάγων. ἐπεὶ
δὲ καὶ ἤρξατο προσάγειν τινὰς τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ὁ
Λύσανδρος, πάντας οἷς γνοίη αὐτὸν συμπράτ-
τοντά τι ἡττωμένους ἀπέπεμπεν. ὡς δ' ἀεὶ τὰ
ἐναντία ὧν ἐβούλετο ἀπέβαινε τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ,
ἔγνω δὴ τὸ γιγνόμενον· καὶ οὔτε ἕπεσθαι ἑαυτῷ
ἔτι εἴα ὄχλον τοῖς τε συμπρᾶξαί τι δεομένοις
σαφῶς ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἔλαττον ἕξοιεν, εἰ αὐτὸς παρείη.
9 βαρέως δὲ φέρων τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ, προσελθὼν εἶπεν·
Ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, μειοῦν μὲν ἄρα σύγε τοὺς φίλους
ἠπίστω. Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, τούς γε βουλομένους
ἐμοῦ μείζους φαίνεσθαι· τοὺς δέ γε αὔξοντας εἰ
μὴ ἐπισταίμην ἀντιτιμᾶν, αἰσχυνοίμην ἄν. καὶ ὁ
Λύσανδρος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἴσως καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκότα
σὺ ποιεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ ἔπραττον. τάδε οὖν μοι ἐκ τοῦ
λοιποῦ χάρισαι, ὅπως ἂν μήτ' αἰσχύνωμαι ἀδυνα-
τῶν παρὰ σοὶ μήτ' ἐμποδών σοι ὦ, ἀπόπεμψόν
ποί με. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ὦ, πειράσομαι ἐν καιρῷ σοι
10 εἶναι. εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξε καὶ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ
οὕτω ποιῆσαι, καὶ πέμπει αὐτὸν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόν-
του. ἐκεῖ δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος αἰσθόμενος Σπιθριδά-
την τὸν Πέρσην ἐλαττούμενόν τι ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου,

[1] See § 2 above.

courting and following him, so that Agesilaus appeared to be a man in private station and Lysander king. Now Agesilaus showed afterwards that he also was enraged by these things; but the thirty Spartiatae[1] with him were so jealous that they could not keep silence, but said to Agesilaus that Lysander was doing an unlawful thing in conducting himself more pompously than royalty. When, however, Lysander now began to introduce people to Agesilaus, the king would in every case dismiss, without granting their petitions, those who were known by him to be supported in any way by Lysander. And when Lysander found that the outcome was invariably the opposite of what he desired, he realized how the matter stood; and he no longer allowed a crowd to follow him, while he plainly told those who wanted him to give them any help that they would fare worse if he supported them. But being distressed at his disgrace, he went to Agesilaus and said: "Agesilaus, it seems that you, at least, understand how to humiliate your friends." "Yes, by Zeus, I do," said he, "at any rate those who wish to appear greater than I; but as for those who exalt me, if I should prove not to know how to honour them in return, I should be ashamed." And Lysander said: "Well, perhaps it is indeed true that you are acting more properly than I acted. Therefore grant me this favour at least: in order that I may not be shamed by having no influence with you, and may not be in your way, send me off somewhere. For, wherever I may be, I shall endeavour to be useful to you." When he had thus spoken, Agesilaus also thought it best to follow this course, and he sent him to the Hellespont. There Lysander, upon learning that Spithridates the Persian had suffered a slight at the hands of Pharnabazus, 396 B.C.

διαλέγεται αὐτῷ καὶ πείθει ἀποστῆναι ἔχοντα τούς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν χρήματα καὶ ἱππέας ὡς διακοσίους. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατέλιπεν ἐν Κυζίκῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀναβιβασάμενος ἧκεν ἄγων πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἥσθη τε τῇ πράξει καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνεπυνθάνετο περὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου χώρας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς.

11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐπὶ τῷ καταβάντι στρατεύματι παρὰ βασιλέως προεῖπεν Ἀγησιλάῳ πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ παρόντες μάλα ἀχθεσθέντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, νομίζοντες ἐλάττω τὴν παροῦσαν εἶναι δύναμιν Ἀγησιλάῳ τῆς βασιλέως παρασκευῆς, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ μάλα φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι Τισσαφέρνει τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσεν ὡς πολλὴν χάριν αὐτῷ ἔχοι, ὅτι ἐπιορκήσας αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκτήσατο, τοῖς δ᾿ Ἕλλησι συμμάχους ἐποίησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς στρατείαν, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν εἰς ἃς ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρατευομένῳ ἐπὶ Καρίαν προεῖπεν ἀγορὰν παρασκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Ἴωσι καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ Ἑλλησποντίοις πέμπειν πρὸς
12 ἑαυτὸν εἰς Ἔφεσον τοὺς συστρατευσομένους. ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἱππικὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἡ δὲ Καρία ἄφιππος ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἡγεῖτο αὐτὸν ὀργίζεσθαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, τῷ ὄντι νομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὑτοῦ οἶκον εἰς Καρίαν αὐτὸν ὁρμήσειν, τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἅπαν διεβίβασεν ἐκεῖσε, τὸ δ᾿ ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον περιῆγε, νομίζων ἱκανὸς εἶναι καταπατῆσαι τῇ

had a conference with him and persuaded him to 396 B.C.
revolt, taking with him his children and the money he had at hand and about two hundred horsemen. And Lysander left everything else at Cyzicus, but put Spithridates himself and his son on board ship and brought them with him to Agesilaus. And when Agesilaus saw them, he was pleased with the exploit, and immediately inquired about the territory and government of Pharnabazus.

Now when Tissaphernes, growing confident because of the army which had come down from the King, declared war upon Agesilaus if he did not depart from Asia, the allies and the Lacedaemonians who were present showed that they were greatly disturbed, thinking that the force which Agesilaus had was inferior to the King's array; but Agesilaus, his countenance radiant, ordered the ambassadors to carry back word to Tissaphernes that he felt very grateful to him because, by violating his oath, he had made the gods enemies of his side and allies of the Greeks. Then he straightway gave orders to the soldiers to pack up for a campaign, and sent word to the cities which had to be visited by anyone who marched upon Caria, that they should make ready a market. He also dispatched orders to the Ionians, Aeolians, and Hellespontines to send to him at Ephesus troops which should take part in the campaign. Now Tissaphernes, both because Agesilaus had no cavalry (and Caria was unsuited for cavalry), and because he believed that he was angry with him on account of his treachery, made up his mind that he was really going to march against his own residence in Caria, and accordingly sent all his infantry across into that province, and as for his cavalry, he led it round into the plain of the Maeander, thinking that

ἵππῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, πρὶν εἰς τὰ δύσιππα ἀφικέσθαι. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἰέναι εὐθὺς τἀναντία ἀποστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τάς τ' ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἦγε καὶ τὰς[1] πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσδοκήτοις παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἐλάμβανε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον

13 χρόνον ἀσφαλῶς διεπορεύετο· οὐ πόρρω δ' ὄντος Δασκυλείου, προϊόντες αὐτοῦ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ λόφον τινά, ὡς προΐδοιεν τί τἄμπροσθεν εἴη. κατὰ τύχην δέ τινα καὶ οἱ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἱππεῖς οἱ περὶ Ῥαθίνην καὶ Βαγαῖον τὸν νόθον ἀδελφόν, ὄντες παρόμοιοι τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν ἀριθμόν, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἤλαυνον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον λόφον. ἰδόντες δὲ ἀλλήλους οὐδὲ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπέχοντας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔστησαν ἀμφότεροι, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἱππεῖς ὥσπερ φάλαγξ ἐπὶ τεττάρων παρατεταγμένοι, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τοὺς πρώτους οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα ποιήσαντες, τὸ βάθος δ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν. ἔπειτα μέντοι πρόσθεν ὥρμησαν οἱ βάρβαροι.

14 ὡς δ' εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπαισάν τινας, πάντες συνέτριψαν τὰ δόρατα, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι κρανέϊνα παλτὰ ἔχοντες ταχὺ δώδεκα μὲν ἱππέας, δύο δ' ἵππους ἀπέκτειναν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἱππεῖς. βοηθήσαντος δὲ Ἀγησιλάου σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις, πάλιν ἀπεχώρουν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ εἷς αὐτῶν

[1] ἀπαντώσας . . . τὰς: inserted by Valckenaer, whom Kel follows, from *Ages.* i. 16.

he was strong enough to trample the Greeks under foot with his horsemen before they should reach the regions which were unfit for cavalry. Agesilaus, however, instead of proceeding against Caria, straightway turned in the opposite direction and marched towards Phrygia, and he picked up and led along with him the contingents which met him on the march, subdued the cities, and, since he fell upon them unexpectedly, obtained great quantities of booty. Most of the time he pursued his march through the country in safety; but when he was not far from Dascyleium, his horsemen, who were going on ahead of him, rode to the top of a hill so as to see what was in front. And by chance the horsemen of Pharnabazus, under the command of Rhathines and Bagaeus, his bastard brother, just about equal to the Greek cavalry in number, had been sent out by Pharnabazus and likewise rode to the top of this same hill. And when the two squadrons saw one another, not so much as four plethra[1] apart, at first both halted, the Greek horsemen being drawn up four deep like a phalanx,[2] and the barbarians with a front of not more than twelve, but many men deep. Then, however, the barbarians charged. When they came to a hand-to-hand encounter, all of the Greeks who struck anyone broke their spears, while the barbarians, being armed with javelins of cornel-wood, speedily killed twelve men and two horses. Thereupon the Greeks were turned to flight. But when Agesilaus came to the rescue with the hoplites, the barbarians withdrew again and one 396 B.C.

[1] The plethrum = c. 100 feet.

[2] The "phalanx" of this period was sometimes four, seldom more than eight, deep. The tendency of later tactics was to increase its depth greatly (*cp.* IV. ii. 18, VI. iv. 12), a tendency which culminated in the famous Macedonian phalanx.

15 ἀποθνῄσκει. γενομένης δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἱππο-
μαχίας, θυομένῳ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ
προόδῳ ἄλοβα γίγνεται τὰ ἱερά. τούτου μέντοι
φανέντος στρέψας ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ θάλατταν.
γιγνώσκων δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἱππικὸν ἱκανὸν κτήσαιτο,
οὐ δυνήσοιτο κατὰ τὰ πεδία στρατεύεσθαι, ἔγνω
τοῦτο κατασκευαστέον εἶναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα
πολεμεῖν δέοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσιωτάτους ἐκ
πασῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ πόλεων ἱπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξε·
προειπὼν δέ, ὅστις παρέχοιτο ἵππον καὶ ὅπλα
καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον, ὅτι ἐξέσται αὐτῷ μὴ στρα-
τεύεσθαι, ἐποίησεν οὕτω ταῦτα συντόμως πράτ-
τεσθαι ὥσπερ ἄν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ ἀποθανού-
μενον προθύμως ζητοίη.

16 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπειδὴ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, συνήγαγε
μὲν ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἔφεσον· ἀσκῆσαι
δ' αὐτὸ βουλόμενος ἆθλα προύθηκε ταῖς τε
ὁπλιτικαῖς τάξεσιν, ἥτις ἄριστα σωμάτων ἔχοι,
καὶ ταῖς ἱππικαῖς, ἥτις κράτιστα ἱππεύοι· καὶ
πελτασταῖς δὲ καὶ τοξόταις ἆθλα προύθηκεν,
ὅσοι κράτιστοι πρὸς τὰ προσήκοντα ἔργα φανεῖεν.
ἐκ τούτου δὲ παρῆν ὁρᾶν τὰ μὲν γυμνάσια πάντα
μεστὰ ἀνδρῶν τῶν γυμναζομένων, τὸν δ' ἱππό-
δρομον τῶν ἱππαζομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀκοντιστὰς
17 καὶ τοὺς τοξότας μελετῶντας. ἀξίαν δὲ καὶ
ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐν ᾗ ἦν θέας ἐποίησεν· ἥ τε
γὰρ ἀγορὰ ἦν μεστὴ παντοδαπῶν καὶ ἵππων
καὶ ὅπλων ὠνίων, οἵ τε χαλκοτύποι καὶ οἱ τέκ-
τονες καὶ οἱ χαλκεῖς καὶ οἱ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ οἱ

of them was killed. After this cavalry battle had taken place and Agesilaus on the next day was offering sacrifices with a view to an advance, the livers of the victims were found to be lacking a lobe. This sign having presented itself, he turned and marched to the sea. And perceiving that, unless he obtained an adequate cavalry force, he would not be able to campaign in the plains, he resolved that this must be provided, so that he might not have to carry on a skulking warfare. Accordingly he assigned the richest men of all the cities in that region to the duty of raising horses; and by proclaiming that whoever supplied a horse and arms and a competent man would not have to serve himself, he caused these arrangements to be carried out with all the expedition that was to be expected when men were eagerly looking for substitutes to die in their stead. 396 B.C.

After this, when spring was just coming on, he gathered his whole army at Ephesus; and desiring to train the army, he offered prizes both to the heavy-armed divisions, for the division which should be in the best physical condition, and to the cavalry divisions, for the one which should show the best horsemanship; and he also offered prizes to peltasts and bowmen, for all who should prove themselves best in their respective duties. Thereupon one might have seen all the gymnasia full of men exercising, the hippodrome full of riders, and the javelin-men and bowmen practising. In fact, he made the entire city, where he was staying, a sight worth seeing; for the market was full of all sorts of horses and weapons, offered for sale, and the copper-workers, carpenters, smiths, leather-cutters, and painters were 395 B.C.

ζωγράφοι πάντες πολεμικὰ ὅπλα κατεσκεύαζον,
ὥστε τὴν πόλιν ὄντως οἴεσθαι πολέμου ἐργα-
18 στήριον εἶναι. ἐπερρώσθη δ' ἄν τις καὶ ἐκεῖνο
ἰδών, Ἀγησίλαον μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐστεφανωμένους ἀπὸ τῶν
γυμνασίων ἀπιόντας καὶ ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς στε-
φάνους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὅπου γὰρ ἄνδρες θεοὺς
μὲν σέβοιντο, τὰ δὲ πολεμικὰ ἀσκοῖεν, πειθαρχεῖν
δὲ μελετῷεν, πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐνταῦθα πάντα μεστὰ
19 ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν εἶναι; ἡγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ κατα-
φρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ῥώμην τινὰ ἐμβάλλειν
πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, προεῖπε τοῖς κήρυξι τοὺς ὑπὸ
τῶν λῃστῶν ἁλισκομένους βαρβάρους γυμνοὺς
πωλεῖν. ὁρῶντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται λευκοὺς μὲν
διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐκδύεσθαι, μαλακοὺς δὲ καὶ
ἀπόνους διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἐπ' ὀχημάτων εἶναι, ἐνόμι-
σαν οὐδὲν διοίσειν τὸν πόλεμον ἢ εἰ γυναιξὶ δέοι
μάχεσθαι.
20 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἤδη
ἀφ' οὗ ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διεληλύθει, ὥστε
οἱ μὲν περὶ Λύσανδρον τριάκοντα οἴκαδε ἀπέ-
πλεον, διάδοχοι δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ περὶ Ἡριππίδαν
παρῆσαν. τούτων Ξενοκλέα μὲν καὶ ἄλλον
ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, Σκύθην δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς
νεοδαμώδεις ὁπλίτας, Ἡριππίδαν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς
Κυρείους, Μύγδωνα δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων
στρατιώτας, καὶ προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εὐθὺς ἡγή-
σοιτο τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς
χώρας, ὅπως αὐτόθεν οὕτω τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν

all engaged in making martial weapons, so that one might have thought that the city was really a workshop of war. And one would have been encouraged at another sight also—Agesilaus in the van, and after him the rest of the soldiers, returning garlanded from the gymnasia and dedicating their garlands to Artemis. For where men reverence the gods, train themselves in deeds of war, and practise obedience to authority, may we not reasonably suppose that such a place abounds in high hopes? And again, believing that to feel contempt for one's enemies infuses a certain courage for the fight, Agesilaus gave orders to his heralds that the barbarians who were captured by the Greek raiding parties should be exposed for sale naked. Thus the soldiers, seeing that these men were white-skinned because they never were without their clothing, and soft and unused to toil because they always rode in carriages, came to the conclusion that the war would be in no way different from having to fight with women. 395 B.C.

Meanwhile the year had now ended since the time when Agesilaus had set sail from Greece, so that Lysander and the thirty Spartiatae sailed back home, and Herippidas with his thirty came as their successors. Of these, Agesilaus assigned Xenocles and one other to the command of the cavalry, Scythes to the command of the Helot hoplites, Herippidas to the Cyreans,[1] and Mygdon to the troops from the allied cities, and he announced to them that he would immediately lead them by the shortest route to the best parts of the country, his object being to have them begin at once to prepare their bodies

[1] *i.e.* the Greek troops which had served under Cyrus, and now made part of Agesilaus' army. *cp.* III. i. 6, ii. 7.

21 γνώμην παρασκευάζοιντο ὡς ἀγωνιούμενοι. ὁ
μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης ταῦτα μὲν ἐνόμισε λέγειν
αὐτὸν πάλιν βουλόμενον ἐξαπατῆσαι, εἰς Καρίαν
δὲ νῦν τῷ ὄντι ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τό τε πεζὸν καθάπερ
τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς Καρίαν διεβίβασε καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν
εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον κατέστησεν. ὁ δ' Ἀγη-
σίλαος οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ προεῖπεν
εὐθὺς εἰς τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον ἐνέβαλε. καὶ
τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας δι' ἐρημίας πολεμίων πορευό-
μενος πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ εἶχε, τῇ
22 δὲ τετάρτῃ ἧκον οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς. καὶ
τῷ μὲν ἄρχοντι τῶν σκευοφόρων εἶπεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν[1]
διαβάντι τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμὸν στρατοπε-
δεύεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατιδόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ἀκολούθους ἐσπαρμένους εἰς ἁρπαγὴν πολλοὺς
αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ἀγησίλαος,
βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἱππέας. οἱ δ' αὖ Πέρσαι
ὡς εἶδον τὴν βοήθειαν, ἠθροίσθησαν καὶ ἀντι-
παρετάξαντο παμπληθέσι τῶν ἱππέων τάξεσιν.
23 ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος γιγνώσκων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν
πολεμίοις οὔπω παρείη τὸ πεζόν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐδὲν
ἀπείη τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, καιρὸν ἡγήσατο
μάχην συνάψαι, εἰ δύναιτο. σφαγιασάμενος οὖν
τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα εὐθὺς ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρα-
τεταγμένους ἱππέας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε
τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης θεῖν ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς, τοῖς δὲ
πελτασταῖς εἶπε δρόμῳ ὑφηγεῖσθαι. παρήγγειλε
δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐμβάλλειν, ὡς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ
24 παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἑπομένου. τοὺς μὲν
δὴ ἱππέας ἐδέξαντο οἱ Πέρσαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἅμα πάντα

[1] ὁ ἡγεμὼν: inserted by most editors from *Ages.* i. 36. Kel. follows the MSS.

and spirits for the fray. Tissaphernes, however, 395 B.C. thought that he was saying this from a desire to deceive him again, and that this time he would really invade Caria, and accordingly he sent his infantry across into Caria, just as before, and stationed his cavalry in the plain of the Maeander. Agesilaus, however, did not belie his words, but, even as he had announced, marched straight to the neighbourhood of Sardis. For three days he proceeded through a country bare of enemies, and had provisions for the army in abundance, but on the fourth day the cavalry of the enemy came up. And their commander told the leader of the baggage-train to cross the Pactolus river and encamp, while the horsemen themselves, getting sight of the camp-followers on the side of the Greeks, scattered for plunder, killed a large number of them. On perceiving this Agesilaus ordered his horsemen to go to their aid. And the Persians, in their turn, when they saw this movement, gathered together and formed an opposing line, with very many companies of their horsemen. Then Agesilaus, aware that the infantry of the enemy was not yet at hand, while on his side none of the arms which had been made ready was missing, deemed it a fit time to join battle if he could. Therefore, after offering sacrifice, he at once led his phalanx against the opposing line of horsemen, ordering the first ten year-classes[1] of the hoplites to run to close quarters with the enemy, and bidding the peltasts lead the way at a double-quick. He also sent word to his cavalry to attack, in the assurance that he and the whole army were following them. Now the Persians met the attack of the cavalry; but when the whole formidable

[1] *cp.* II. iv. 32 and the note thereon.

τὰ δεινὰ παρῆν, ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἔπεσον, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἔφευγον. οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐπακολουθοῦντες αἱροῦσι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταί, ὥσπερ εἰκός, εἰς ἁρπαγὴν ἐτράποντο· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ φίλια καὶ πολέμια περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο. καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ χρήματα ἐλήφθη, ἃ ηὗρε πλέον ἢ ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ αἱ κάμηλοι δὲ τότε ἐλήφθησαν, ἃς Ἀγησίλαος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπήγαγεν.

25 Ὅτε δ' αὕτη ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, Τισσαφέρνης ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἔτυχεν ὤν· ὥστε ᾐτιῶντο οἱ Πέρσαι προδεδόσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. γνοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Τισσαφέρνην αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, Τιθραύστην καταπέμψας ἀποτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ὁ Τιθραύστης πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον πρέσβεις λέγοντας· Ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ὁ μὲν αἴτιος τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν ἔχει τὴν δίκην· βασιλεὺς δὲ ἀξιοῖ σὲ μὲν ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, τὰς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτονόμους
26 οὔσας τὸν ἀρχαῖον δασμὸν αὐτῷ ἀποφέρειν. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποιήσειε ταῦτα ἄνευ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν, Σὺ δ' ἀλλά, ἕως ἂν πύθῃ τὰ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μεταχώρησον, ἔφη, εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν σὸν ἐχθρὸν τετιμώρημαι. Ἕως ἂν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐκεῖσε πορεύωμαι, δίδου δὴ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ ὁ Τιθραύστης

array together was upon them, they gave way, and some of them were struck down at once in crossing the river, while the rest fled on. And the Greeks, pursuing them, captured their camp as well. Then the peltasts, as was natural, betook themselves to plundering; but Agesilaus enclosed all alike, friends[1] as well as foes, within the circle of his camp. And not only was much other property captured, which fetched more than seventy talents, but it was at this time that the camels also were captured which Agesilaus brought back with him to Greece. 395 B.C.

When this battle took place Tissaphernes chanced to be at Sardis, so that the Persians charged him with having betrayed them. Furthermore, the Persian King himself concluded that Tissaphernes was responsible for the bad turn his affairs were taking, and accordingly sent down Tithraustes and cut off his head. After he had done this, Tithraustes sent ambassadors to Agesilaus with this message: "Agesilaus, the man who was responsible for the trouble in your eyes and ours has received his punishment; and the King deems it fitting that you should sail back home, and that the cities in Asia, retaining their independence, should render him the ancient tribute." When Agesilaus replied that he could not do this without the sanction of the authorities at home, Tithraustes said, "But at least, until you receive word from the city, go over into the territory of Pharnabazus, since it is I who have taken vengeance upon your enemy." "Then, until I go there," said Agesilaus, "give me provisions for the army." Tithraustes accordingly gave him thirty talents; and

[1] So that the peltasts might not appropriate to themselves booty which belonged to all in common.

δίδωσι τριάκοντα τάλαντα· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ᾔει ἐπὶ
27 τὴν Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν. ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ
πεδίῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ Κύμης ἔρχεται ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκοι
τελῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὅπως γιγνώσκοι
καὶ καταστήσασθαι ναύαρχον ὅντινα αὐτὸς βού-
λοιτο. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοιῷδε
λογισμῷ, ὡς εἰ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἄρχοι, τό τε
πεζὸν πολὺ ἂν ἰσχυρότερον εἶναι, καθ' ἓν οὔσης
τῆς ἰσχύος ἀμφοτέροις, τό τε ναυτικόν, ἐπιφαινο-
28 μένου τοῦ πεζοῦ ἔνθα δέοι. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ
Ἀγησίλαος, πρῶτον μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι παρήγγειλε
ταῖς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθαλαττιδίοις
τριήρεις ποιεῖσθαι ὁπόσας ἑκάστη βούλοιτο τῶν
πόλεων. καὶ ἐγένοντο καιναί, ἐξ ὧν αἵ τε πόλεις
ἐπηγγείλαντο καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐποιοῦντο χαρί-
29 ζεσθαι βουλόμενοι, εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. Πεί-
σανδρον δὲ τὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸν ναύαρχον
κατέστησε, φιλότιμον μὲν καὶ ἐρρωμένον τὴν
ψυχήν, ἀπειρότερον δὲ τοῦ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς
δεῖ. καὶ Πείσανδρος μὲν ἀπελθὼν τὰ ναυτικὰ
ἔπραττεν· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος, ὥσπερ ὥρμησεν, ἐπὶ
τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐπορεύετο.

V. Ὁ μέντοι Τιθραύστης, καταμαθεῖν δοκῶν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον καταφρονοῦντα τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων καὶ οὐδαμῇ διανοούμενον ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐλπίδας ἔχοντα μεγάλας αἱρήσειν βασιλέα, ἀπορῶν τί χρῷτο τοῖς πράγμασι, πέμπει Τιμοκράτην τὸν Ῥόδιον εἰς Ἑλλάδα, δοὺς χρυσίον εἰς πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ κελεύει πειρᾶσθαι πιστὰ τὰ μέγιστα λαμβάνοντα διδόναι τοῖς προεστηκόσιν

he took it and set out for Pharnabazus' province of Phrygia. And when he was in the plain which is above Cyme, orders came to him from the authorities at home to exercise command as he thought best over the fleet also, and to appoint as admiral whomsoever he wished. Now the Lacedaemonians did this because they reasoned that if the same man were in command of both army and fleet, the army would be much stronger because the strength of both would be united, and the fleet likewise because the army would appear wherever it was needed. But when Agesilaus heard this, in the first place he sent orders to the cities in the islands and on the coast to build triremes in such numbers as the several cities desired. And the result was new triremes to the number of one hundred and twenty, consisting of those which the cities offered and those which private individuals built out of desire to please Agesilaus. Then he appointed as admiral Peisander, his wife's brother, a man who was ambitious and of a stout spirit, but rather inexperienced in making such provisions as were needful. So Peisander departed and busied himself with naval matters; and Agesilaus continued the march to Phrygia on which he had set out. 395 B.C.

V. But now Tithraustes, who thought he had found out that Agesilaus despised the power of the King and did not in the least intend to depart from Asia, but rather had great hopes that he would overcome the King, being perplexed to know how to deal with the situation, sent Timocrates the Rhodian to Greece, giving him gold to the value of fifty talents of silver, and bade him undertake, on receipt of the surest pledges, to give this money to the

ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφ᾽ ᾧτε πόλεμον ἐξοίσειν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἐκεῖνος δ᾽ ἐλθὼν δίδωσιν ἐν Θήβαις μὲν Ἀνδροκλείδᾳ τε καὶ Ἰσμηνίᾳ καὶ Γαλαξιδώρῳ, ἐν Κορίνθῳ δὲ Τιμολάῳ τε καὶ Πολυάνθει, ἐν Ἄργει δὲ Κύλωνί τε καὶ τοῖς μετ᾽
2 αὐτοῦ. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ οὐ μεταλαβόντες τούτου τοῦ χρυσίου ὅμως πρόθυμοι ἦσαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, νομίζοντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἄρχειν εἶναι.[1] οἱ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενοι τὰ χρήματα εἰς τὰς οἰκείας πόλεις διέβαλλον τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτας εἰς μῖσος αὐτῶν προήγαγον, συνίστασαν καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας.

3 Γιγνώσκοντες δὲ οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις προεστῶτες ὅτι εἰ μή τις ἄρξει πολέμου, οὐκ ἐθελήσουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λύειν τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους, πείθουσι Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀπουντίους ἐκ τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου χώρας Φωκεῦσί τε καὶ ἑαυτοῖς χρήματα τελέσαι, νομίζοντες τοὺς Φωκέας τούτου γενομένου ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα πολλαπλάσια χρήματα
4 ἔλαβον. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἀνδροκλείδαν ταχὺ ἔπεισαν τοὺς Θηβαίους βοηθεῖν τοῖς Λοκροῖς, ὡς οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἀμφισβητήσιμον, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὴν ὁμολογουμένην φίλην τε καὶ σύμμαχον εἶναι Λοκρίδα ἐμβεβληκότων αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀντεμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐδῄουν τὴν χώραν, εὐθὺς οἱ Φωκεῖς πέμπουσι πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἠξίουν βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, διδάσκοντες ὡς οὐκ ἤρξαντο πολέμου, ἀλλ᾽ ἀμυνό-

[1] αὐτῶν τὸ ἄρχειν εἶναι Laves: τε αὐτῶν ἄρχεσθαι MSS., which Kel. retains, though marking a lacuna.

leaders in the various states on condition that they should make war upon the Lacedaemonians. So Timocrates went and gave his money, at Thebes to Androcleidas, Ismenias, and Galaxidorus; at Corinth to Timolaus and Polyanthes; and at Argos to Cylon and his followers. And the Athenians, even though they did not receive a share of this gold, were nevertheless eager for the war, thinking that theirs was the right to rule. Then those who had taken the money set to work in their own states to defame the Lacedaemonians; and when they had brought their people to a feeling of hatred toward them, they undertook, further, to unite the largest states with one another. 395 B.C.

But the leading men in Thebes, being aware that unless someone began war the Lacedaemonians would not break the peace with their allies, persuaded the Opuntian Locrians to levy money from the territory which was in dispute between the Phocians and themselves, for they thought that if this was done the Phocians would invade Locris. And they were not disappointed, for the Phocians did at once invade Locris and seize property many times as valuable. Then Androcleidas and his followers speedily persuaded the Thebans to aid the Locrians, on the ground that the Phocians had invaded, not the disputed territory, but Locris, which was admitted to be a friendly and allied country. And when the Thebans made a counter-invasion into Phocis and laid waste the land, the Phocians straightway sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon and asked the Lacedaemonians to aid them, setting forth that they had not begun war, but had gone against the Locrians

5 μενοι ἦλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς Λοκρούς. οἱ μέντοι Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι ἄσμενοι ἔλαβον πρόφασιν στρατεύειν
ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι αὐτοῖς τῆς
τε ἀντιλήψεως τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος δεκάτης ἐν
Δεκελείᾳ καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ μὴ ἐθελῆσαι
ἀκολουθῆσαι. ᾐτιῶντο δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ Κορινθίους
πεῖσαι μὴ συστρατεύειν. ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δὲ καὶ
ὡς θύειν τ' ἐν Αὐλίδι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον οὐκ εἴων
καὶ τὰ τεθυμένα ἱερὰ ὡς ἔρριψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ
καὶ ὅτι οὐδ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀγησιλάῳ συνεστρά-
τευον. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ καλὸν καιρὸν εἶναι τοῦ
ἐξάγειν στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ παῦσαι τῆς εἰς
αὐτοὺς ὕβρεως· τά τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καλῶς
σφίσιν ἔχειν, κρατοῦντος Ἀγησιλάου, καὶ ἐν τῇ
Ἑλλάδι οὐδένα ἄλλον πόλεμον ἐμποδὼν σφίσιν
6 εἶναι. οὕτω δὲ γιγνωσκούσης τῆς πόλεως τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι ἔφαινον,
Λύσανδρον δ' ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς Φωκέας καὶ ἐκέ-
λευσαν αὐτούς τε τοὺς Φωκέας ἄγοντα παρεῖναι
καὶ Οἰταίους καὶ Ἡρακλεώτας καὶ Μηλιᾶς καὶ
Αἰνιᾶνας εἰς Ἁλίαρτον. ἐκεῖσε δὲ καὶ Παυσανίας,
ὅσπερ ἔμελλεν ἡγεῖσθαι, συνετίθετο παρέσεσθαι
εἰς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν, ἔχων Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους Πελοποννησίους. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσαν-
δρος τά τε ἄλλα τὰ κελευόμενα ἔπραττε καὶ
7 προσέτι Ὀρχομενίους ἀπέστησε Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ
Παυσανίας, ἐπεὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο αὐτῷ,
καθεζόμενος ἐν Τεγέᾳ τούς τε ξεναγοὺς διέπεμπε
καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοικίδων στρατιώτας περιέ-
μενεν. ἐπεί γε μὴν δῆλον τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐγένετο
ὅτι ἐμβαλοῖεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὴν χώραν

in self-defence. Now the Lacedaemonians were glad to seize a pretext for undertaking a campaign against the Thebans, for they had long been angry with them both on account of their claiming Apollo's tenth [1] at Decelea and their refusing to follow them against Piraeus.[2] Furthermore, they charged them with persuading the Corinthians likewise not to join in that campaign. Again, they recalled that they had refused to permit Agesilaus to sacrifice at Aulis and had cast from the altar the victims already offered, and that they also would not join Agesilaus for the campaign in Asia. They also reasoned that it was a favourable time to lead forth an army against the Thebans and put a stop to their insolent behaviour toward them; for matters in Asia were in an excellent condition for them, Agesilaus being victorious, and in Greece there was no other war to hinder them. The city of the Lacedaemonians being thus minded, the ephors called out the ban and sent Lysander to Phocis with orders to report at Haliartus, bringing with him the Phocians themselves and also the Oetaeans, Heracleots, Malians, and Aenianians. And Pausanias also, who was to have chief command, agreed to appear at Haliartus on an appointed day, with the troops of the Lacedaemonians and the other Peloponnesians. Now Lysander carried out all his orders and, besides, caused the Orchomenians to revolt from the Thebans. And Pausanias, when his sacrifice at the frontier proved favourable, sent out his officers to muster the allies, and waited for the troops from the outlying towns of Laconia, he meanwhile resting at Tegea. But when it became clear to the Thebans that the Lacedaemonians were going to invade their 395 B.C.

[1] *i.e.* of the spoils of the Peloponnesian War.
[2] *cp.* II. iv. 30.

αὐτῶν, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν Ἀθήναζε λέγοντας τοιάδε.

8 Ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃ μὲν μέμφεσθε ἡμῖν ὡς ψηφισαμένων χαλεπὰ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ καταλύσει τοῦ πολέμου, οὐκ ὀρθῶς μέμφεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐκεῖνα ἐψηφίσατο, ἀλλ' εἷς ἀνὴρ εἶπεν, ὃς ἔτυχε τότε ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις καθήμενος. ὅτε δὲ παρεκάλουν ἡμᾶς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τότε ἅπασα ἡ πόλις ἀπεψηφίσατο μὴ συστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς. δι' ὑμᾶς οὖν οὐχ ἥκιστα ὀργιζομένων ἡμῖν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, δίκαιον εἶναι

9 νομίζομεν βοηθεῖν ὑμᾶς τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν. πολὺ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀξιοῦμεν, ὅσοι τῶν ἐν ἄστει ἐγένεσθε, προθύμως ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἰέναι. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ καταστήσαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ εἰς ἔχθραν τῷ δήμῳ ἀφικόμενοι πολλῇ δυνάμει ὡς ὑμῖν σύμμαχοι παρέδοσαν ὑμᾶς τῷ πλήθει. ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι ἀπολώλατε, ὁ δὲ δῆμος

10 οὑτοσὶ ὑμᾶς ἔσωσε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλοισθ' ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν πρότερον ἐκέκτησθε ἀναλαβεῖν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα· τοῦτο δὲ πῶς μᾶλλον εἰκὸς γενέσθαι ἢ εἰ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀδικουμένοις βοηθοῖτε; ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν ἄρχουσι, μὴ φοβηθῆτε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦτο θαρρεῖτε, ἐνθυμούμενοι ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅτε

---

[1] cp. II. ii. 19. [2] cp. II. iv. 30.

land, they sent ambassadors to Athens with the following message: 395 B.C.

"Men of Athens, as regards your complaints against us for having voted for harsh measures toward you at the conclusion of the war,[1] your complaints are not justified; for it was not the state which voted for those measures, but only the one individual who proposed them, a man who chanced at that time to have a seat in the assembly of the allies. But when the Lacedaemonians summoned us to the attack upon Piraeus, then the whole state voted not to join them in the campaign.[2] Therefore, since it is chiefly on your account that the Lacedaemonians are angry with us, we think it is fair that you should aid our state. And we consider it in a far greater degree incumbent upon all those among you who belonged to the city[3] party that you should zealously take the field against the Lacedaemonians. For the Lacedaemonians, after establishing you as an oligarchy and making you objects of hatred to the commons, came with a great force, ostensibly as your allies, and delivered you over to the democrats. Consequently, in so far as it depended upon them, you would certainly have perished, but the commons here saved you. Furthermore, men of Athens, although we all understand that you would like to recover the dominion which you formerly possessed, we ask in what way this is more likely to come to pass than by your aiding those who are wronged by the Lacedaemonians? And do not be afraid because they rule over many, but much rather be of good courage on that account, keeping in mind your own case, that when the sub-

[3] *cp.* II. iv. 11, 24, etc.

πλείστων ἤρχετε, τότε πλείστους ἐχθροὺς ἐκέκτησθε. ἀλλ' ἕως μὲν οὐκ εἶχον ὅποι ἀποσταῖεν, ἔκρυπτον τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχθραν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε Λακεδαιμόνιοι προέστησαν, τότε ἔφηναν οἷα περὶ ὑμῶν
11 ἐγίγνωσκον. καὶ νῦν γε, ἂν φανεροὶ γενώμεθα ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὑμεῖς συνασπιδοῦντες ἐναντία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, εὖ ἴστε, ἀναφανήσονται πολλοὶ οἱ μισοῦντες αὐτούς.

Ὡς δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγομεν, ἐὰν ἀναλογίσησθε, αὐτίκα γνώσεσθε. τίς γὰρ ἤδη καταλείπεται αὐτοῖς εὐμενής; οὐκ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν ἀεί ποτε δυσμενεῖς
12 αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν; Ἠλεῖοί γε μὴν νῦν ἐστερημένοι καὶ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ πόλεων ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῖς προσγεγένηνται. Κορινθίους δὲ καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τί φῶμεν, οἳ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμῳ μάλα λιπαρούμενοι ὑπ' ἐκείνων πάντων καὶ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων καὶ τῶν δαπανημάτων μετεῖχον, ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπραξαν ἃ ἐβούλοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ποίας ἢ ἀρχῆς ἢ τιμῆς ἢ ποίων χρημάτων μεταδεδώκασιν αὐτοῖς; ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν εἵλωτας ἁρμοστὰς ἀξιοῦσι καθιστάναι, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων ἐλευθέρων ὄντων, ἐπεὶ ηὐτύχησαν, δεσπόται ἀνα-
13 πεφήνασιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οὓς ὑμῶν ἀπέστησαν φανεροί εἰσιν ἐξηπατηκότες· ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας διπλῆν αὐτοῖς δουλείαν παρεσχήκασιν· ὑπό τε γὰρ τῶν ἁρμοστῶν τυραννοῦνται καὶ ὑπὸ δέκα ἀνδρῶν, οὓς Λύσανδρος κατέστησεν ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει. ὅ γε μὴν τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' αὐτοῖς συμβαλόμενος εἰς τὸ ὑμῶν κρα-

jects over whom you ruled were the most numerous, 395 B.C. then you had the most enemies. To be sure they concealed their enmity to you so long as they had no one to whom to revolt, but as soon as the Lacedaemonians offered themselves as leaders, then they showed what their feelings were toward you. Even so now, if we and you are found in arms together against the Lacedaemonians, be well assured that those who hate them will appear in full numbers.

"That we speak truth you will see at once if you consider the matter. For who is now left that is friendly to them? Have not the Argives been hostile to them from all time? And now the Eleans, whom they have robbed of much territory and many cities, have been added to the number of their enemies. As for the Corinthians, Arcadians, and Achaeans, what shall we say of them, who in the war against you, at the earnest entreaty of the Lacedaemonians, bore a share of all hardships and perils and expenses; but when the Lacedaemonians had accomplished what they desired, what dominion or honour or what captured treasure did they ever share with them? Nay, it is their Helots whom they deem it proper to appoint as governors, while toward their allies, who are free men, they have behaved themselves like masters since they have achieved success. Furthermore, it is plain that they have deceived in like manner the peoples whom they won away from you; for instead of freedom they have given them a double servitude—they are under the tyrant rule both of the governors and of the decarchies which Lysander established in each city. Take the King of Asia also —although his contributions helped them most to win the victory over you, what better treatment

τῆσαι νῦν τί διάφορον πάσχει ἢ εἰ μεθ' ὑμῶν
14 κατεπολέμησεν αὐτούς; πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκός, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς αὖ προστῆτε τῶν οὕτω φανερῶς ἀδικουμένων, νῦν ὑμᾶς πολὺ ἤδη μεγίστους τῶν πώποτε γενέσθαι; ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἤρχετε, τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν μόνον δήπου ἡγεῖσθε· νῦν δὲ πάντων καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὧν πρόσθεν ἤρχετε καὶ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντος ἡγεμόνες ἂν γένοισθε. καίτοι ἦμεν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι καὶ ἐκείνοις σύμμαχοι, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε· νῦν δέ γε εἰκὸς τῷ παντὶ ἐρρωμενεστέρως ὑμῖν συμμαχεῖν ἡμᾶς ἢ τότε Λακεδαιμονίοις· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπὲρ νησιωτῶν ἢ Συρακοσίων οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίων, ὥσπερ τότε, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀδι-
15 κουμένων βοηθήσομεν. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι χρὴ εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων πλεονεξία πολὺ εὐκαταλυτωτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας γενομένης ἀρχῆς. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἐχόντων ἤρχετε, οὗτοι δὲ ὀλίγοι ὄντες πολλαπλασίων ὄντων καὶ οὐδὲν χεῖρον ὡπλισμένων πλεονεκτοῦσι. ταῦτ' οὖν λέγομεν ἡμεῖς· εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι νομίζομεν ἐπὶ πολὺ μείζω ἀγαθὰ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ πόλει ἢ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ.

16 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων πάμπολλοι μὲν συνηγόρευον, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς. Θρασύβουλος δὲ ἀποκρινάμενος τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τοῦτο ἐνεδείκνυτο, ὅτι ἀτειχίστου τοῦ Πειραιῶς ὄντος ὅμως παρα-

is he now receiving than if he had joined with you 395 B.C. and subdued them? How, then, can it be doubtful that if you in your turn offer yourselves as leaders of those who are so manifestly wronged, you will now become by far the greatest of all the states that have ever been? For at the time when you held dominion you were the leaders, you recall, of those only who dwelt on the sea; but now you would become the leaders of all alike—of ourselves, of the Peloponnesians, of those whom you formerly ruled, and of the King himself with his vast power. And we certainly were valuable allies to the Lacedaemonians, as you so well know; but now we can be expected to support you altogether more stoutly than we supported the Lacedaemonians then; for it is by no means on behalf of islanders or Syracusans, or in fact of any alien people, that we shall be lending our aid as we were then, but on behalf of our own injured selves. And this also is to be well understood, that the selfishly acquired dominion of the Lacedaemonians is far easier to destroy than the empire which was once yours. For you had a navy and ruled over men who had none, while they, being few, arrogate to themselves dominion over men who are many times their number and are fully as well armed. This, then, is our proposal; but be well assured, men of Athens, that we believe we are inviting you to benefits far greater for your state than for our own."

With these words he ceased speaking. But as for the Athenians, very many spoke in support of him and they voted unanimously to aid the Thebans. And Thrasybulus, after giving the ambassadors the decree for an answer, pointed out also that, although Piraeus was without walls, they would nevertheless brave the

κινδυνεύσοιεν χάριτα αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι μείζονα ἢ
ἔλαβον. ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, οὐ συνεστρατεύσατε
ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς δέ γε μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν μαχούμεθα ἐκεί-
17 νοις, ἂν ἴωσιν ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς. οἱ μὲν δὴ Θηβαῖοι
ἀπελθόντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι, οἱ δ᾽
Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς βοηθήσοντες. καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι οὐκέτι ἔμελλον, ἀλλὰ Παυσανίας μὲν ὁ
βασιλεὺς ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν τό τε οἴκοθεν
ἔχων στράτευμα καὶ τὸ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πλὴν
Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Λύσαν-
δρος, ἄγων τὸ ἀπὸ Φωκέων καὶ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ
τῶν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνα χωρίων στράτευμα, ἔφθη τὸν
18 Παυσανίαν ἐν τῷ Ἁλιάρτῳ γενόμενος. ἥκων δὲ
οὐκέτι ἡσυχίαν ἔχων ἀνέμενε τὸ ἀπὸ Λακεδαί-
μονος στράτευμα, ἀλλὰ σὺν οἷς εἶχεν ᾔει πρὸς τὸ
τεῖχος τῶν Ἁλιαρτίων. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔπει-
θεν αὐτοὺς ἀφίστασθαι καὶ αὐτονόμους γίγνεσθαι·
ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων τινὲς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τείχει
19 διεκώλυον, προσέβαλε πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. ἀκού-
σαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Θηβαῖοι, δρόμῳ ἐβοήθουν οἵ
τε ὁπλῖται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς. ὁπότερα μὲν οὖν, εἴτε
λαθόντες τὸν Λύσανδρον ἐπέπεσον αὐτῷ εἴτε καὶ
αἰσθόμενος προσιόντας ὡς κρατήσων ὑπέμενεν,
ἄδηλον· τοῦτο δ᾽ οὖν σαφές, ὅτι παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἡ
μάχη ἐγένετο· καὶ τροπαῖον ἕστηκε πρὸς τὰς
πύλας τῶν Ἁλιαρτίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθανόντος
Λυσάνδρου ἔφευγον οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος, ἐδίω-
20 κον ἐρρωμένως οἱ Θηβαῖοι. ὡς δὲ ἄνω ἤδη ἦσαν
διώκοντες καὶ δυσχωρία τε καὶ στενοπορία ὑπε-

danger of repaying to the Thebans a greater favour than they had received. "For whereas you," he said, "did not join in the campaign against us, we are going to fight along with you against them, in case they march upon you." So the Thebans went away and made preparations for defending themselves, and the Athenians for aiding them. And in fact the Lacedaemonians did not longer delay, but Pausanias the king marched into Boeotia with the troops from home and those from Peloponnesus except the Corinthians, who refused to accompany them. And Lysander, at the head of the army from Phocis, Orchomenus, and the places in that region, arrived at Haliartus before Pausanias. Having arrived, he did not keep quiet and wait for the army from Lacedaemon, but went up to the wall of the Haliartians with the troops which he had. And at first he tried to persuade them to revolt from the Thebans and become independent; but when some of the Thebans, who were within the wall, prevented them from doing so, he made an attack upon the wall. And on hearing of this the Thebans came on the run to the rescue, both hoplites and cavalry. Whether it was that they fell upon Lysander unawares, or that he saw them coming and nevertheless stood his ground in the belief that he would be victorious, is uncertain; but this at any rate is clear, that the battle took place beside the wall; and a trophy stands at the gates of the Haliartians. Now when Lysander had been killed and his troops were fleeing to the mountain, the Thebans pursued stoutly. But when they had reached the heights in their pursuit and came upon rough country and narrow ways, the hoplites of the enemy 395 B.C.

λάμβανεν αὐτούς, ὑποστρέψαντες οἱ ὁπλῖται ἠκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἔβαλλον. ὡς δὲ ἔπεσον αὐτῶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπεκυλίνδουν πέτρους εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ ἐνέκειντο, ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ κατάντους καὶ ἀποθνῄσκουσιν αὐτῶν πλείους ἢ διακόσιοι.

21 Ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἠθύμουν, νομίζοντες οὐκ ἐλάττω κακὰ πεπονθέναι ἢ πεποιηκέναι· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ, ἐπεὶ ᾔσθοντο ἀπεληλυθότας ἐν νυκτὶ τούς τε Φωκέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οἴκαδε ἑκάστους, ἐκ τούτου μεῖζον δὴ ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ὁ Παυσανίας ἀνεφαίνετο ἔχων τὸ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος στράτευμα, πάλιν αὖ ἐν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ ἡγοῦντο εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν ἔφασαν σιωπήν τε καὶ
22 ταπεινότητα ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι εἶναι αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἵ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλθόντες συμπαρετάξαντο ὅ τε Παυσανίας οὐ προσῆγεν οὐδὲ ἐμάχετο, ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν Θηβαίων πολὺ μεῖζον φρόνημα ἐγίγνετο· ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας συγκαλέσας πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντῆρας ἐβουλεύετο πότερον μάχην συνάπτοι ἢ ὑπόσπονδον τόν τε Λύσανδρον ἀναιροῖτο καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πεσόν-
23 τας. λογιζόμενος δ' ὁ Παυσανίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν τέλει Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς Λύσανδρος τετελευτηκὼς εἴη καὶ τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στράτευμα ἡττημένον ἀποκεχωρήκοι, καὶ Κορίνθιοι μὲν παντάπασιν οὐκ ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ παρόντες οὐ προθύ-

turned about and threw javelins and other missiles upon them. And when two or three of them who were in the van had been struck down, and the enemy began to roll stones down the hill upon the rest and to attack them with great spirit, the Thebans were driven in flight from the slope, and more than two hundred of them were killed. 395 B.C.

On this day, therefore, the Thebans were despondent, thinking that they had suffered losses no less severe than those they had inflicted; on the following day, however, when they learned that the Phocians and the rest had all gone away in the night to their several homes, then they began to be more elated over their exploit. But when, on the other hand, Pausanias appeared with the army from Lacedaemon, they again thought that they were in great danger, and, by all accounts, there was deep silence and despondency in their army. When, however, on the next day the Athenians arrived and formed in line of battle with them, while Pausanias did not advance against them nor offer battle, then the elation of the Thebans increased greatly; as for Pausanias, he called together the commanders of regiments and of fifties, and took counsel with them as to whether he should join battle or recover by means of a truce the bodies of Lysander and those who fell with him. Accordingly Pausanias and the other Lacedaemonians who were in authority, considering that Lysander was dead and that the army under his command had been defeated and was gone, while the Corinthians had altogether refused to accompany them and those who had come[1] were not serving with any spirit;

[1] *i.e.* the other Peloponnesians (*cp.* § 17 above).

μως στρατεύοιντο· ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν
ὡς τὸ μὲν ἀντίπαλον πολύ, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγον
εἴη, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει
ἔκειντο, ὥστε οὐδὲ κρείττοσιν οὖσι διὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ
τῶν πύργων ῥᾴδιον εἴη ἀνελέσθαι· διὰ οὖν πάντα
ταῦτα ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους
24 ἀναιρεῖσθαι. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι εἶπαν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν
ἀποδοῖεν[1] τοὺς νεκρούς, εἰ μὴ ἐφ᾽ ᾧτε ἀπιέναι ἐκ
τῆς χώρας. οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοί τε ταῦτα ἤκουσαν καὶ
ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῇσαν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας.
τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι
ἀθύμως ἀπῇσαν, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι μάλα ὑβριστικῶς,
εἰ καὶ μικρόν τις τῶν χωρίων του ἐπιβαίη, παίον-
τες ἐδίωκον εἰς τὰς ὁδούς. αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἡ
25 στρατιὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διελύθη. ὁ μέντοι
Παυσανίας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο οἴκαδε, ἐκρίνετο περὶ
θανάτου. κατηγορουμένου δ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι ὑστε-
ρήσειεν εἰς Ἁλίαρτον τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, συνθέμενος
εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν παρέσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ὑπο-
σπόνδους ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μάχῃ ἐπειρᾶτο τοὺς νεκροὺς
ἀναιρεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων
λαβὼν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἀνῆκε, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οὐ
παρόντος ἐν τῇ δίκῃ, θάνατος αὐτοῦ κατεγνώσθη·
καὶ ἔφυγεν εἰς Τεγέαν, καὶ ἐτελεύτησε μέντοι
ἐκεῖ νόσῳ. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταῦτ᾽
ἐπράχθη.

[1] ἀποδοῖεν MSS. except B: ὑποδοῖεν B, followed by Kel.

considering also the matter of horsemen, that the enemy's were numerous while their own were few, and, most important of all, that the bodies lay close up to the wall, so that even in case of victory it would not be easy to recover them on account of the men upon the towers—for all these reasons they decided that it was best to recover the bodies under a truce. The Thebans, however, said that they would not give up the dead except on condition that the Lacedaemonians should depart from their country. The Lacedaemonians welcomed these conditions, and were ready, after taking up their dead, to depart from Boeotia. When this had been done, the Lacedaemonians marched off despondently, while the Thebans behaved most insolently—in case a man trespassed never so little upon anyone's lands, chasing him back with blows into the roads. Thus it was that this campaign of the Lacedaemonians came to its end. But when Pausanias reached home he was brought to trial for his life. He was charged with having arrived at Haliartus later than Lysander, though he had agreed to reach there on the same day, with having recovered the bodies of the dead by a truce instead of trying to recover them by battle, and with having allowed the Athenian democrats to escape when he had got them in his power in Piraeus;[1] and since, besides all this, he failed to appear at the trial, he was condemned to death. And he fled to Tegea, and there died a natural death. These, then, were the events which took place in Greece. 395 B.C.

[1] *cp.* II. iv. 29-39.

BOOK IV

Δ

I. Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ἅμα μετο-
πώρῳ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν, τὴν μὲν
χώραν ἔκαε καὶ ἐπόρθει, πόλεις δὲ τὰς μὲν βίᾳ,
2 τὰς δ' ἑκούσας προσελάμβανε. λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ
Σπιθριδάτου ὡς εἰ ἔλθοι πρὸς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν
σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸν τῶν Παφλαγόνων βασιλέα καὶ εἰς
λόγους ἄξοι καὶ σύμμαχον ποιήσοι, προθύμως
ἐπορεύετο, πάλαι τούτου ἐπιθυμῶν, τοῦ ἀφιστάναι
τι ἔθνος ἀπὸ βασιλέως.
3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν, ἦλθεν
Ὄτυς καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο· καὶ γὰρ καλού-
μενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀνεβεβήκει. πείσαντος
δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου κατέλιπε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ
Ὄτυς χιλίους μὲν ἱππέας, δισχιλίους δὲ πελ-
4 ταστάς. χάριν δὲ τούτων εἰδὼς Ἀγησίλαος τῷ
Σπιθριδάτῃ· Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σπιθριδάτα, οὐκ
ἂν δοίης Ὄτυϊ τὴν θυγατέρα; Πολύ γε, ἔφη,
μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνος ἂν λάβοι φυγάδος ἀνδρὸς βασι-
λεύων πολλῆς καὶ χώρας καὶ δυνάμεως. τότε
5 μὲν οὖν ταῦτα μόνον ἐρρήθη περὶ τοῦ γάμου. ἐπεὶ
δὲ Ὄτυς ἔμελλεν ἀπιέναι, ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησί-
λαον ἀσπασόμενος. ἤρξατο δὲ λόγου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος
παρόντων τῶν τριάκοντα, μεταστησάμενος τὸν

BOOK IV

I. Now when Agesilaus[1] arrived, at the beginning of autumn, in Pharnabazus' province of Phrygia, he laid the land waste with fire and sword and gained possession of cities, some by force, others by their voluntary surrender. And when Spithridates said that if he would come to Paphlagonia with him, he would bring the king of the Paphlagonians to a conference and make him an ally, Agesilaus eagerly undertook the journey, since this was a thing he had long desired—to win some nation away from the Persian King. 395 B.C.

Upon his arriving in Paphlagonia, Otys came and concluded an alliance; for he had been summoned by the Persian King and had refused to go up to him. He also, by the persuasion of Spithridates, left behind for Agesilaus a thousand horsemen and two thousand peltasts. And Agesilaus, feeling grateful to Spithridates for these things, said to him: "Tell me, Spithridates, would you not give your daughter to Otys?" "Far more willingly," said he, "than he would accept her, the daughter of an exile, while he is lord of a great land and power." So at that time nothing more was said about the marriage. But when Otys was about to depart, he came to Agesilaus to bid him farewell. Then Agesilaus began conversation with him in the presence of the thirty

[1] *cp.* III. iv. 29.

6 Σπιθριδάτην· Λέξον μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ὄτυ, ποίου
τινὸς γένους ἐστὶν ὁ Σπιθριδάτης; ὁ δʼ εἶπεν ὅτι
Περσῶν οὐδενὸς ἐνδεέστερος. Τὸν δὲ υἱόν, ἔφη,
ἑόρακας αὐτοῦ ὡς καλός ἐστι; Τί δʼ οὐ μέλλω;
καὶ γὰρ ἑσπέρας συνεδείπνουν αὐτῷ. Τούτου
μέν φασι τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ καλλίονα εἶναι.
7 Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ὄτυς, καλὴ γάρ ἐστι. Καὶ ἐγὼ
μέν, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἡμῖν γεγένησαι, συμβου-
λεύοιμʼ ἄν σοι τὴν παῖδα ἄγεσθαι γυναῖκα, καλ-
λίστην μὲν οὖσαν, οὗ τί ἀνδρὶ ἥδιον; πατρὸς δʼ
εὐγενεστάτου, δύναμιν δʼ ἔχοντος τοσαύτην, ὃς
ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἀδικηθεὶς οὕτω τιμωρεῖται αὐτὸν
ὥστε φυγάδα πάσης τῆς χώρας, ὡς ὁρᾷς, πεποίη-
8 κεν. εὖ ἴσθι μέντοι, ἔφη, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνον
ἐχθρὸν ὄντα δύναται τιμωρεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ φίλον
ἄνδρα εὐεργετεῖν ἂν δύναιτο. νόμιζε δὲ τούτων
πραχθέντων μὴκεῖνον ἄν σοι μόνον κηδεστὴν
εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λακεδαι-
μονίους, ἡμῶν δʼ ἡγουμένων τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τὴν
9 ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα. καὶ μὴν μεγαλειοτέρως γε σοῦ,
εἰ ταῦτα πράττοις, τίς ἄν ποτε γήμειε; ποίαν
γὰρ νύμφην πώποτε τοσοῦτοι ἱππεῖς καὶ πελ-
τασταὶ καὶ ὁπλῖται προύπεμψαν ὅσοι τὴν σὴν
10 γυναῖκα εἰς τὸν σὸν οἶκον προπέμψειαν ἄν; καὶ ὁ
Ὄτυς ἐπήρετο· Δοκοῦντα δʼ, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε,
ταῦτα καὶ Σπιθριδάτῃ λέγεις; Μὰ τοὺς θεούς,
ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐμέ γε οὐκ ἐκέ-

Spartiatae,[1] after asking Spithridates to withdraw. 395 B.C.
"Tell me," he said, "Otys, to what sort of a family does Spithridates belong?" Otys replied that he was inferior in rank to no one of all the Persians. "And have you noticed his son," said Agesilaus, "how handsome he is?" "To be sure I have; for I dined with him last evening." "They say his daughter is handsomer than the son." "Yes, by Zeus," said Otys, "she certainly is beautiful." "And I," said he, "since you have become a friend of ours, should like to advise you to take the girl as your wife, for she is very beautiful—and what is more pleasant to a husband than that?—and the daughter of a father very well born and possessed of so great power, a man who, when wronged by Pharnabazus, takes such vengeance upon him that he has, as you see, made him an exile from his whole country. Be well assured, moreover," he said, "that even as he is able to take vengeance upon Pharnabazus, an enemy, so he would also be able to benefit a friend. I ask you also to take into consideration that, if this plan should be carried out, it would not be he alone that would be a connexion of yours, but I too and the rest of the Lacedaemonians, and, since we are the leaders of Greece, the rest of Greece as well. And further, if you should do this, who could possibly have a more magnificent wedding than you? For what bride was ever escorted by so many horsemen and peltasts and hoplites as would escort your wife to your house?" And Otys asked, "But is this," said he, "which you are proposing, Agesilaus, pleasing to Spithridates also?" "By the gods," said Agesilaus, "it was not he that bade me say this;

[1] *cp.* III. iv. 20.

λευσε ταῦτα λέγειν· ἐγὼ μέντοι, καίπερ ὑπερ-
χαίρων, ὅταν ἐχθρὸν τιμωρῶμαι, πολὺ μᾶλλόν
μοι δοκῶ ἥδεσθαι, ὅταν τι τοῖς φίλοις ἀγαθὸν
11 ἐξευρίσκω. Τί οὖν, ἔφη, οὐ πυνθάνῃ εἰ καὶ ἐκείνῳ
βουλομένῳ ταῦτ' ἐστί; καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος· Ἴτ',
ἔφη, ὑμεῖς, ὦ Ἡριππίδα, καὶ διδάσκετε αὐτὸν
12 βουληθῆναι ἅπερ ἡμεῖς. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀναστάντες
ἐδίδασκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ διέτριβον· Βούλει, ἔφη, ὦ
Ὄτυ, καὶ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο καλέσωμεν αὐτόν; Πολύ γ'
ἂν οἶμαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ σοῦ πεισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἢ ὑπὸ
τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων. ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐκάλει ὁ
Ἀγησίλαος τὸν Σπιθριδάτην τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους.
13 προσιόντων δ' εὐθὺς εἶπεν ὁ Ἡριππίδας· Τὰ μὲν
ἄλλα, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, τὰ ῥηθέντα τί ἄν τις μακρο-
λογοίη; τέλος δὲ λέγει Σπιθριδάτης πᾶν ποιεῖν
14 ἂν ἡδέως ὅ τι σοὶ δοκοίη. Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη,
δοκεῖ, ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, σὲ μέν, ὦ Σπιθριδάτα, τύχῃ
ἀγαθῇ διδόναι Ὄτυϊ τὴν θυγατέρα, σὲ δὲ λαμ-
βάνειν. τὴν μέντοι παῖδα πρὸ ἦρος οὐκ ἂν
δυναίμεθα πεζῇ ἀγαγεῖν. Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη
ὁ Ὄτυς, κατὰ θάλατταν ἤδη ἂν πέμποιτο, εἰ σὺ
15 βούλοιο. ἐκ τούτου δεξιὰς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες
ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπέπεμπον τὸν Ὄτυν.

Καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω αὐτὸν σπεύδοντα, τριήρη πληρώσας καὶ Καλλίαν Λακεδαιμόνιον κελεύσας ἀπαγαγεῖν τὴν παῖδα, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Δασκυλείου ἀπεπορεύετο, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἦν Φαρναβάζῳ, καὶ κῶμαι περὶ αὐτὰ πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι καὶ ἄφθονα ἔχουσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια,

but I for my own part, even though I rejoice exceedingly when I punish an enemy, believe that I am far more pleased when I discover some good thing for my friends." "Why, then," said he, "do you not find out whether this is pleasing to him also?" And Agesilaus said: "Herippidas, do you men all go and persuade him to desire the same things that we do." So they went and set about persuading him. And when they had spent some time away, Agesilaus said: "Do you wish, Otys, that we should call him in and talk with him ourselves?" "I do think that he would be far more likely to be persuaded by you than by all the rest put together." Thereupon Agesilaus called in both Spithridates and the others. And as soon as they came in, Herippidas said: "Why, Agesilaus, need one make a long story about all that was said? The upshot of it is that Spithridates says he would be glad to do anything that you think best." "Well, then," said Agesilaus, "I think it best that you, Spithridates, should give your daughter to Otys—and may good fortune attend upon the deed—and that you, Otys, should accept her. But we could not fetch the girl by land before spring." "But, by Zeus," said Otys, "she could be sent by sea at once, if you so desired." Thereupon they gave and received pledges to ratify this agreement, and so sent Otys on his way. 395 B.C.

And Agesilaus, being now assured that Otys was eager, immediately manned a trireme and ordered Callias the Lacedaemonian to fetch the girl, while he set off himself for Dascyleium, the place where the palace of Pharnabazus was situated, and round about it were many large villages, stored with provi-

καὶ θῆραι αἱ μὲν καὶ ἐν περιειργμένοις παρα-
δείσοις, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις τόποις, πάγ-
16 καλαι. παρέρρει δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς παντοδαπῶν
ἰχθύων πλήρης. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πτηνὰ ἄφθονα
τοῖς ὀρνιθεῦσαι δυναμένοις. ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ διε-
χείμαζε, καὶ αὐτόθεν καὶ σὺν προνομαῖς τὰ
17 ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ λαμβάνων. καταφρονη-
τικῶς δέ ποτε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως διὰ τὸ μηδὲν
πρότερον ἐσφάλθαι λαμβανόντων τῶν στρατιω-
τῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπέτυχεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος
κατὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐσπαρμένοις, ἅρματα μὲν ἔχων
δύο δρεπανηφόρα, ἱππέας δὲ ὡς τετρακοσίους.
18 οἱ δ᾽ Ἕλληνες ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν προσελαύνοντα,
συνέδραμον ὡς εἰς ἑπτακοσίους· ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐμέλ-
λησεν, ἀλλὰ προστησάμενος τὰ ἅρματα, αὐτὸς δὲ
σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ὄπισθεν γενόμενος, ἐλαύνειν
19 εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν. ὡς δὲ τὰ ἅρματα ἐμβα-
λόντα διεσκέδασε τὸ ἀθρόον, ταχὺ οἱ ἱππεῖς
κατέβαλον ὡς εἰς ἑκατὸν ἀνθρώπους, οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι
κατέφυγον πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἔτυχε
σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις ὤν.

20 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ αἰ-
σθάνεται ὁ Σπιθριδάτης τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐν
Καυῇ κώμῃ μεγάλῃ στρατοπεδευόμενον, ἀπέ-
χοντα στάδια ὡς ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ
21 εὐθὺς λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἡριππίδαν. καὶ ὁ Ἡριπ-
πίδας ἐπιθυμῶν λαμπρόν τι ἐργάσασθαι, αἰτεῖ
τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὁπλίτας τε εἰς δισχιλίους καὶ
πελταστὰς ἄλλους τοσούτους καὶ ἱππέας τούς
τε Σπιθριδάτου καὶ τοὺς Παφλαγόνας καὶ τῶν
22 Ἑλλήνων ὁπόσους πείσειεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπέσχετο

sions in abundance, and splendid wild animals, some of them in enclosed parks, others in open spaces. There was also a river, full of all kinds of fish, flowing by the palace. And, besides, there was winged game in abundance for those who knew how to take it. There he spent the winter, procuring provisions for his army partly on the spot, and partly by means of foraging expeditions. But on one occasion, while the soldiers were getting their provisions in disdainful and careless fashion, because they had not previously met with any mishap, Pharnabazus came upon them, scattered as they were over the plain, with two scythe-bearing chariots and about four hundred horsemen. Now when the Greeks saw him advancing upon them, they ran together to the number of about seven hundred; Pharnabazus, however, did not delay, but putting his chariots in front, and posting himself and the horsemen behind them, he gave orders to charge upon the Greeks. And when the chariots dashed into the close-gathered crowd and scattered it, the horsemen speedily struck down about a hundred men, while the rest fled for refuge to Agesilaus; for he chanced to be near at hand with the hoplites. 395 B.C.

On the third or fourth day following this incident, Spithridates learned that Pharnabazus was encamped in a large village named Caue, about one hundred and sixty stadia away, and at once told Herippidas. And Herippidas, eager to achieve a brilliant exploit, asked from Agesilaus hoplites to the number of two thousand, as many peltasts, and for horsemen, those of Spithridates, the Paphlagonians, and as many of the Greeks as he could persuade to join him. When Agesilaus had promised him

αὐτῷ, ἐθύετο· καὶ ἅμα δείλῃ καλλιερησάμενος κατέλυσε τὴν θυσίαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου δειπνήσαντας παρήγγειλε παρεῖναι πρόσθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου. σκότους δὲ γενομένου οὐδ' οἱ ἡμίσεις
23 ἑκάστων ἐξῆλθον. ὅπως δὲ μή, εἰ ἀποτρέποιτο, καταγελῷεν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα,
24 ἐπορεύετο σὺν ᾗ εἶχε δυνάμει. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιπεσὼν τῇ Φαρναβάζου στρατοπεδείᾳ, τῆς μὲν προφυλακῆς αὐτοῦ Μυσῶν ὄντων πολλοὶ ἔπεσον, αὐτοὶ δὲ διαφεύγουσι, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἁλίσκεται, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκπώματα καὶ ἄλλα δὴ οἷα Φαρναβάζου κτήματα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις σκεύη
25 πολλὰ καὶ ὑποζύγια σκευοφόρα. διὰ γὰρ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι μή, εἴ που καθεσταίη, κυκλωθεὶς πολιορκοῖτο, ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ τῆς χώρας ἐπῄει, ὥσπερ οἱ νομάδες, καὶ μάλα ἀφανίζων τὰς στρα-
26 τοπεδεύσεις.[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ληφθέντα χρήματα ἀπήγαγον οἵ τε Παφλαγόνες καὶ ὁ Σπιθριδάτης, ὑποστήσας Ἡριππίδας ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἀφείλετο ἅπαντα τόν τε Σπιθριδάτην καὶ τοὺς Παφλαγόνας, ἵνα δὴ πολλὰ ἀπαγάγοι τὰ αἰχμά-
27 λωτα τοῖς λαφυροπώλαις. ἐκεῖνοι μέντοι ταῦτα παθόντες οὐκ ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδικηθέντες καὶ ἀτιμασθέντες νυκτὸς συσκευασάμενοι ᾤχοντο ἀπιόντες εἰς Σάρδεις πρὸς Ἀριαῖον, πιστεύσαντες, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος ἀποστὰς βασιλέως ἐπολέμη-

[1] § 25 as in the MSS.: Kel. inserts it between §§ 17 and 18.

these troops Herippidas proceeded to sacrifice; and towards evening he obtained favourable omens and terminated his sacrifice. Thereupon he gave orders to his men to get their dinner, and then report in front of the camp. But by the time darkness had come on, not so much as the half of the several detachments had come out. However, in order that the rest of the thirty Spartiatae might not laugh at him, as they would if he gave up his plan, he set out with the force that he had. And when at daybreak he fell upon the encampment of Pharnabazus, many of his outposts, who were Mysians, were slain, the troops themselves scattered in flight, and the camp was captured, and with it many drinking-cups and other articles such as a man like Pharnabazus would naturally have, and besides these things a great deal of baggage and many baggage animals. For through fear that, if he took up a fixed position anywhere, he would be surrounded and besieged, Pharnabazus kept going first to one and then to another part of the country, even as the nomads do, very carefully concealing his encampments. Now when the Paphlagonians and Spithridates had brought in the property they had captured, Herippidas posted commanders of divisions and companies to intercept them, and took everything away from both Spithridates and the Paphlagonians, merely in order that he might have a great quantity of booty to turn in to the officials who sold it. They, however, would not stand being so treated, but, feeling that they had been wronged and dishonoured, packed up and went off during the night to Ariaeus at Sardis, putting their trust in Ariaeus because he also had revolted from the 395 B.C.

28 σεν αὐτῷ. Ἀγησιλάῳ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀπολείψεως
τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου καὶ τοῦ Μεγαβάτου καὶ τῶν
Παφλαγόνων οὐδὲν ἐγένετο βαρύτερον ἐν τῇ
στρατείᾳ.

29 Ἦν δέ τις Ἀπολλοφάνης Κυζικηνός, ὃς καὶ
Φαρναβάζῳ ἐτύγχανεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ξένος ὢν καὶ
Ἀγησιλάῳ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐξενώθη.
οὗτος οὖν εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὡς οἴοιτο
συναγαγεῖν αὐτῷ ἂν εἰς λόγους περὶ φιλίας
30 Φαρνάβαζον. ὡς δ' ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ, σπονδὰς
λαβὼν καὶ δεξιὰν παρῆν ἄγων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον
εἰς συγκείμενον χωρίον, ἔνθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ
οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν τριάκοντα χαμαὶ ἐν πόᾳ τινὶ
κατακείμενοι ἀνέμενον· ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἧκεν
ἔχων στολὴν πολλοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀξίαν. ὑποτιθέν-
των δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν θεραπόντων ῥαπτά, ἐφ' ὧν καθί-
ζουσιν οἱ Πέρσαι μαλακῶς, ᾐσχύνθη ἐντρυφῆσαι,
ὁρῶν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν φαυλότητα· κατεκλίθη
31 οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ εἶχε χαμαί. καὶ πρῶτα
μὲν ἀλλήλους χαίρειν προσεῖπαν, ἔπειτα τὴν
δεξιὰν προτείναντος τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἀντιπρού-
τεινε καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἦρξατο
λόγου ὁ Φαρνάβαζος· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρεσβύτερος·

32 Ὦ Ἀγησίλαε καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι, ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ὅτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπολεμεῖτε,
φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ἐγενόμην, καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν
τὸ ὑμέτερον χρήματα παρέχων ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίουν,
ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου μαχόμενος μεθ'
ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν κατεδίωκον τοὺς πολε-

King and made war upon him.[1] And nothing happened during the campaign which was more distressing to Agesilaus than the desertion of Spithridates, Megabates,[2] and the Paphlagonians. 395 B.C.

Now there was a certain Apollophanes of Cyzicus who chanced to be an old friend of Pharnabazus and at that time had become a friend of Agesilaus also. This man, accordingly, said to Agesilaus that he thought he could bring Pharnabazus to a conference with him in regard to establishing friendly relations. And when Agesilaus heard what he had to say, Apollophanes, after obtaining a truce and a pledge, brought Pharnabazus with him to a place which had been agreed upon, where Agesilaus and the thirty Spartiatae with him were lying on the ground in a grassy spot awaiting them; Pharnabazus, however, came in a dress which was worth much gold. But when his attendants were proceeding to spread rugs beneath him, upon which the Persians sit softly, he was ashamed to indulge in luxury, seeing as he did the simplicity of Agesilaus; so he too lay down on the ground without further ado. And first they gave each other greeting, then Pharnabazus held out his right hand and Agesilaus held out his to meet it. After this Pharnabazus began speaking,—for he was the elder:

"Agesilaus and all you Lacedaemonians who are present, I became your friend and ally at the time when you were at war with the Athenians, and not only did I make your fleet strong by providing money, but on the land I myself fought on horseback with you and drove your enemies into the sea.[3]

[1] As described in the *Anabasis*. [2] Son of Spithridates.
[3] *cp.* I. i. 6, 24, 25, etc.

μίους. καὶ διπλοῦν ὥσπερ Τισσαφέρνους οὐδὲν πώποτέ μου οὔτε ποιήσαντος οὔτ' εἰπόντος πρὸς
33 ὑμᾶς ἔχοιτ' ἂν κατηγορῆσαι. τοιοῦτος δὲ γενόμενος νῦν οὕτω διάκειμαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὡς οὐδὲ δεῖπνον ἔχω ἐν τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ χώρᾳ, εἰ μή τι ὧν ἂν ὑμεῖς λίπητε συλλέξομαι, ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία. ἃ δέ μοι ὁ πατὴρ καὶ οἰκήματα καλὰ καὶ παραδείσους καὶ δένδρων καὶ θηρίων μεστοὺς κατέλιπεν, ἐφ' οἷς ηὐφραινόμην, ταῦτα πάντα ὁρῶ τὰ μὲν κατακεκομμένα τὰ δὲ κατακεκαυμένα. εἰ οὖν ἐγὼ μὴ γιγνώσκω μήτε τὰ ὅσια μήτε τὰ δίκαια, ὑμεῖς δὴ διδάξατέ με ὅπως ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισταμένων χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι.

34 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα πάντες μὲν ἐπῃσχύνθησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσιώπησαν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος χρόνῳ ποτὲ εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' οἶμαι μέν σε, ὦ Φαρνάβαζε, εἰδέναι ὅτι καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσι ξένοι ἀλλήλοις γίγνονται ἄνθρωποι. οὗτοι δέ, ὅταν αἱ πόλεις πολέμιαι γένωνται, σὺν ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς ἐξενωμένοις πολεμοῦσι καί, ἂν οὕτω τύχωσιν, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἀλλήλους. καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν νῦν βασιλεῖ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολεμοῦντες πάντα ἠναγκάσμεθα τὰ ἐκείνου πολέμια νομίζειν· σοί γε μέντοι φίλοι γενέσθαι περὶ παντὸς ἂν
35 ποιησαίμεθα. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀλλάξασθαί σε ἔδει ἀντὶ δεσπότου βασιλέως ἡμᾶς δεσπότας, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγέ σοι συνεβούλευον· νῦν δὲ ἔξεστί σοι μεθ' ἡμῶν γενομένῳ μηδένα προσκυνοῦντα μηδὲ δεσπότην ἔχοντα ζῆν καρπούμενον τὰ σαυτοῦ. καίτοι ἐλεύθερον εἶναι ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ἀντάξιον εἶναι τῶν
36 πάντων χρημάτων. οὐδὲ μέντοι τοῦτό σε κελεύομεν, πένητα μέν, ἐλεύθερον δ' εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν

And you cannot accuse me, as you accused Tissaphernes, of any double-dealing toward you at any time, either in deed or word. Such a friend I proved myself, and now I am brought to such a pass by you that I have not so much as a meal in my own land unless, like the beasts, I pick up a bit of what you may leave. And the beautiful dwellings and parks, full of trees and wild animals, which my father left me, in which I took delight,—all these parks I see cut down, all these dwellings burned to the ground. If it is I that do not understand either what is righteous or what is just, do you teach me how these are the deeds of men who know how to repay favours." 395 B.C.

Thus he spoke. And all the thirty Spartiatae were filled with shame before him and fell silent; but Agesilaus at length said: "I think you know, Pharnabazus, that in the Greek states, also, men become guest-friends of one another. But these men, when their states come to war, fight with their fatherlands even against their former friends, and, if it so chance, sometimes even kill one another. And so we to-day, being at war with your king, are constrained to regard all that is his as hostile; as for yourself, however, we should prize it above everything to become friends of yours. And if it were an exchange that you had to make, from the King as master to us as masters, I for my part should not advise you to make the exchange; but in fact it is within your power by joining with us to live in the enjoyment of your possessions without doing homage to anyone or having any master. And being free is worth, in my opinion, as much as all manner of possessions. Yet it is not this that we urge upon you, to be free and poor,

συμμάχοις χρώμενον αὔξειν μὴ τὴν βασιλέως ἀλλὰ τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀρχήν, τοὺς νῦν ὁμοδούλους σοι καταστρεφόμενον, ὥστε σοὺς ὑπηκόους εἶναι. καίτοι εἰ ἅμα ἐλεύθερός τ' εἴης καὶ πλούσιος γένοιο, τίνος ἂν δέοις μὴ οὐχὶ πάμπαν εὐδαίμων εἶναι;

37 *Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Φαρνάβαζος, ἁπλῶς ὑμῖν ἀποκρίνωμαι ἅπερ ποιήσω; Πρέπει γοῦν σοι. Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἐὰν βασιλεὺς ἄλλον μὲν στρατηγὸν πέμπῃ, ἐμὲ δὲ ὑπήκοον ἐκείνου τάττῃ, βουλήσομαι ὑμῖν καὶ φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος εἶναι· ἐὰν μέντοι μοι τὴν ἀρχὴν προστάττῃ,—τοιοῦτόν τι, ὡς ἔοικε, φιλοτιμία ἐστίν—εὖ χρὴ εἰδέναι ὅτι*
38 *πολεμήσω ὑμῖν ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι ἄριστα. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐλάβετο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· Εἴθ', ὦ λῷστε σύ, τοιοῦτος ὢν φίλος ἡμῖν γένοιο. ἓν δ' οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπίστω, ὅτι νῦν τε ἄπειμι ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς σῆς χώρας, τοῦ τε λοιποῦ, κἂν πόλεμος ᾖ, ἕως ἂν ἐπ' ἄλλον ἔχωμεν στρατεύεσθαι, σοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σῶν ἀφεξόμεθα.*

39 *Τούτων δὲ λεχθέντων διέλυσε τὴν σύνοδον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φαρνάβαζος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀπῄει, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Παραπίτας υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καλὸς ἔτι ὤν, ὑπολειφθεὶς καὶ προσδραμών· Ξένον σε, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ποιοῦμαι. Ἐγὼ δέ γε δέχομαι. Μέμνησό νυν, ἔφη. καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ παλτόν—εἶχε δὲ καλόν—ἔδωκε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ. ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος, φάλαρα ἔχοντος περὶ τῷ ἵππῳ Ἰδαίου τοῦ γραφέως πάγκαλα, περιελὼν ἀντέδωκεν αὐτῷ. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ παῖς ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον μετεδίωκε*

but rather by employing us as allies to increase, not 395 B.C. the King's empire, but your own, subduing those who are now your fellow-slaves so that they shall be your subjects. And if, being free, you should at the same time become rich, what would you lack of being altogether happy?"

"Shall I, then," said Pharnabazus, "tell you frankly just what I shall do?" "It surely becomes you to do so." "Well, then," said he, "if the King sends another as general and makes me his subordinate, I shall choose to be your friend and ally; but if he assigns the command to me,—so strong, it seems, is the power of ambition—you may be well assured that I shall war upon you to the best of my ability." Upon hearing these words Agesilaus grasped his hand and said: "O that you, noble sir, a man of such a spirit, may come to be our friend. But at least," he said, "be assured of one thing, that now I am going away from your land as speedily as I can, and in the future, even if war continues, we shall withhold our hands from you and yours so long as we can turn our attack against another."

With these words he broke up the meeting. And Pharnabazus mounted his horse and rode away, but his son by Parapita, who was still in the bloom of youth, remaining behind, ran up to Agesilaus and said to him: "Agesilaus, I make you my guest-friend." "And I accept your friendship." "Remember, then," he said. And immediately he gave his javelin—it was a beautiful one—to Agesilaus. And he, accepting it, took off and gave to the boy in return a splendid trapping which Idaeus, his secretary, had round his horse's neck. Then the boy leaped upon his horse and followed after his father.

40 τὸν πατέρα. ὡς δ' ἐν τῇ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἀποδημίᾳ ἀποστερῶν ἀδελφὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φυγάδα ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Παραπίτας υἱόν, τά τ' ἄλλα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεμελεῖτο αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐρασθέντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Εὐάλκους υἱέος Ἀθηναίου, πάντ' ἐποίησεν ὅπως ἂν δι' ἐκεῖνον ἐγκριθείη τὸ στάδιον ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, μέγιστος ὢν τῶν παίδων.

41 Καὶ τότε δή, ὥσπερ εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, εὐθὺς ἀπεπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας· σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ἔαρ ἤδη ὑπέφαινεν. ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς Θήβης πεδίον κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀστυρηνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν, καὶ ἐκεῖ πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε συνέλεγε πανταχόθεν παμπληθὲς στράτευμα. παρεσκευάζετο γὰρ πορευσόμενος ὡς δύναιτο ἀνωτάτω, νομίζων ὁπόσα ὄπισθεν ποιήσαιτο ἔθνη πάντα ἀποστήσειν βασιλέως.

II. Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοις ἦν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ σαφῶς ᾔσθοντο τά τε χρήματα ἐληλυθότα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις συνεστηκυίας ἐπὶ πολέμῳ πρὸς ἑαυτούς, ἐν κινδύνῳ τε τὴν πόλιν ἐνόμισαν καὶ στρατεύειν
2 ἀναγκαῖον ἡγήσαντο εἶναι. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ταῦτα παρεσκευάζοντο, εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον πέμπουσιν Ἐπικυδίδαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο, τά τε ἄλλα διηγεῖτο ὡς ἔχοι καὶ ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιστέλλοι
3 αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν ὡς τάχιστα τῇ πατρίδι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε, χαλεπῶς μὲν ἤνεγκεν, ἐνθυμούμενος καὶ οἵων τιμῶν καὶ οἵων ἐλπίδων

[1] The stadium, or two hundred yards' dash, was a race for men and Eualces' son was too young to be eligible, but his unusual height told in his favour. [2] *cp.* III. v. 1.

And afterwards, when his brother had deprived the son of Parapita of his domain during the absence of Pharnabazus, and had made him an exile, Agesilaus not only cared for him in every way, but in particular, since he had become enamoured of the son of Eualces an Athenian, made every effort for his sake to have Eualces' son, inasmuch as he was taller than any of the other boys, admitted to the stadium race at Olympia.[1] 395 B.C.

So at that time Agesilaus immediately marched off out of the territory of Pharnabazus, just as he had told him he would; besides, spring was now almost at hand. And upon arriving in the plain of Thebe he encamped near the shrine of Artemis of Astyra, and there gathered together from all quarters a very great army in addition to that which he had. For he was preparing to march as far as he could into the interior, thinking that he would detach from the King all the nations which he could put in his rear. 394 B.C.

II. Agesilaus, then, was occupied with these things. But the Lacedaemonians at home, when they found out definitely that the money[2] had come to Greece, and that the largest states had united for war against them, believed that their state was in danger, and thought that it was necessary to undertake a campaign. And while themselves making preparations for this, they also immediately sent Epicydidas to fetch Agesilaus. And when Epicydidas arrived in Asia, he told Agesilaus the general condition of affairs, and that the state bade him come as speedily as possible to the aid of his fatherland. Now when Agesilaus heard this, although he was disturbed, considering what honours and what

ἀπεστερεῖτο,[1] ὅμως δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς συμμάχους ἐδήλωσε τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως παραγγελλόμενα, καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον εἴη βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι· ἐὰν μέντοι ἐκεῖνα καλῶς γένηται, εὖ ἐπίστασθε, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἐπιλάθωμαι ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ πάλιν παρέσομαι πράξων
4 ὧν ὑμεῖς δεῖσθε. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα πολλοὶ μὲν ἐδάκρυσαν, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν μετ' Ἀγησιλάου τῇ Λακεδαίμονι· εἰ δὲ καλῶς τἀκεῖ γένοιτο, λαβόντες αὐτὸν πάλιν ἥκειν εἰς
5 τὴν Ἀσίαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ συνεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἀκολουθήσοντες. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατέλιπεν Εὔξενον ἁρμοστὴν καὶ φρουροὺς παρ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔλαττον τετρακισχιλίων, ἵνα δύναιτο διασῴζειν τὰς πόλεις· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁρῶν ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μένειν ἐπεθύμουν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφ' Ἕλληνας στρατεύεσθαι, βουλόμενος ὡς βελτίστους καὶ πλείστους ἄγειν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἆθλα προύθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἥτις ἄριστον στράτευμα πέμποι, καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ὅστις εὐοπλότατον λόχον ἔχων συστρατεύοιτο καὶ ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ πελταστῶν. προεῖπε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππάρχοις, ὅστις εὐιπποτάτην καὶ εὐοπλοτάτην τάξιν παρέχοιτο, ὡς καὶ τούτοις νικητήριον
6 δώσων. τὴν δὲ κρίσιν ἔφη ποιήσειν, ἐπεὶ διαβαίησαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν Χερρονήσῳ, ὅπως εὖ εἰδείησαν ὅτι τοὺς στρατευο-
7 μένους δεῖ εὐκρινεῖν. ἦν δὲ τὰ ἆθλα τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα ὅπλα ἐκπεπονημένα εἰς κόσμον καὶ ὁπλιτικὰ καὶ ἱππικά· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ στέφανοι

[1] ἀπεστερεῖτο BMDV: ἀποστερεῖτο F: ἀποστεροῖτο C, followed by Kel.

hopes he was deprived of, nevertheless, calling together the allies, he made known to them what the state commanded, and said that it was necessary to go to the aid of the fatherland. "But if those matters turn out successfully, be well assured, my allies," he said, "that I shall not forget you, but shall return again to accomplish the things which you desire." Upon hearing this many burst into tears, but they all voted to go with Agesilaus to the aid of Lacedaemon, resolved, if matters there should turn out successfully, to bring him back again with them to Asia. Accordingly they made preparations to follow with him. As for Agesilaus, he left behind him in Asia Euxenus as governor, and with him a garrison of not less than four thousand men, so that he could keep the cities safe; and seeing that most of his own soldiers were more desirous of remaining than of undertaking a campaign against Greeks, in the desire to lead with him the best men and as many as possible he offered prizes to the cities, for the one which should send the best force, and to the captains of the mercenaries, for the one who should join the expedition with the best equipped company of hoplites, of bowmen, and of peltasts. He likewise announced to the commanders of cavalry that he would also give a prize of victory to the one who should furnish the best mounted and best equipped battalion. And he said that he would make the decision in the Chersonese, when they had crossed from Asia to Europe, his purpose being to let them understand thoroughly that they must select their troops with care. As for the prizes, most of them were beautifully wrought arms, both for hoplites and for horsemen; there were also wreaths of gold, and the 394 B.C.

χρυσοῖ· τὰ δὲ πάντα ἆθλα οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐγένοντο
ἢ ἀπὸ τεττάρων ταλάντων. τοσούτων μέντοι
ἀναλωθέντων, παμπόλλων χρημάτων ὅπλα εἰς
8 τὴν στρατιὰν κατεσκευάσθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη τὸν
Ἑλλήσποντον, κριταὶ κατέστησαν Λακεδαιμονίων
μὲν Μένασκος καὶ Ἡριππίδας καὶ Ὄρσιππος,
τῶν δὲ συμμάχων εἷς ἀπὸ πόλεως. καὶ Ἀγησί-
λαος μέν, ἐπεὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησεν, ἔχων τὸ
στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἥνπερ βασι-
λεὺς ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστράτευεν.
9 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἔφηναν· ἡ
δὲ πόλις, ἐπεὶ Ἀγησίπολις παῖς ἔτι ἦν, Ἀριστό-
δημον τοῦ γένους ὄντα καὶ πρόδικον τοῦ παιδός,
10 ἡγεῖσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῇσαν
μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, συνειλεγμένοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ
ἐναντίοι, συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο πῶς ἂν τὴν
μάχην συμφορώτατα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ποιήσαιντο.
11 Τιμόλαος μὲν δὴ Κορίνθιος ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ
δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ὅμοιον εἶναι τὸ
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρᾶγμα οἷόνπερ τὸ τῶν
ποταμῶν. οἵ τε γὰρ ποταμοὶ πρὸς μὲν ταῖς
πηγαῖς οὐ μεγάλοι εἰσὶν ἀλλ' εὐδιάβατοι, ὅσῳ δ'
ἂν πορρωτέρω γίγνωνται, ἐπεμβάλλοντες ἕτεροι
ποταμοὶ ἰσχυρότερον αὐτῶν τὸ ῥεῦμα ποιοῦσι,
12 καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὡσαύτως, ἔνθεν μὲν ἐξέρ-
χονται, αὐτοὶ μόνοι εἰσί, προϊόντες δὲ καὶ παρα-
λαμβάνοντες τὰς πόλεις πλείους τε καὶ δυσμαχώ-
τεροι γίγνονται. ὁρῶ δ' ἔγωγε, ἔφη, καὶ ὁπόσοι
σφῆκας ἐξαιρεῖν βούλονται, ἐὰν μὲν ἐκθέοντας
τοὺς σφῆκας πειρῶνται θηρᾶν, ὑπὸ πολλῶν
τυπτομένους· ἐὰν δ' ἔτι ἔνδον ὄντων τὸ πῦρ

prizes all told cost not less than four talents. As a result, however, of the expending of this sum, arms worth a vast sum of money were provided for the army. And when he had crossed the Hellespont, Menascus, Herippidas, and Orsippus were appointed as judges from the side of the Lacedaemonians, and from that of the allies one from each city. Then Agesilaus, after he had made the decision, marched on with his army by the same route which the Persian king[1] followed when he made his expedition against Greece. 394 B.C.

Meanwhile the ephors called out the ban; and since Agesipolis[2] was still a boy, the state commanded Aristodemus, who was of the royal family and the boy's guardian, to lead the army. Now when the Lacedaemonians were marching forth and their enemies had gathered together, the latter met and took counsel as to how they might fight the battle with the greatest advantage to themselves. Then Timolaus of Corinth spoke as follows: "It seems to me," he said, "fellow allies, that the case of the Lacedaemonians is much the same as that of rivers. For rivers at their sources are not large, but easy to cross, yet the farther on they go, other rivers empty into them and make their current stronger; and just so the Lacedaemonians, at the place whence they come forth, are alone by themselves, but as they go on and keep attaching the cities to them, they become more numerous and harder to fight against. Again, I see," he said, "that all who wish to destroy wasps, in case they try to capture the wasps as they issue forth, are stung by many of them; but if they apply the fire while the wasps are still in their nests,

[1] Xerxes.
[2] Son of Pausanias; *cp.* III. v. 25.

προσφέρωσι, πάσχοντας μὲν οὐδέν, χειρουμένους
δὲ τοὺς σφῆκας. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ἐνθυμούμενος ἡγοῦμαι
κράτιστον εἶναι μάλιστα μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ, εἰ δὲ μή,
ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς Λακεδαίμονος τὴν μάχην ποιεῖ-
σθαι. δόξαντος δ᾽ εὖ λέγειν αὐτοῦ ἐψηφίσαντο
13 ταῦτα. ἐν ᾧ δὲ περὶ ἡγεμονίας τε διεπράττοντο
καὶ διωμολογοῦντο εἰς ὁπόσους δέοι τάττεσθαι
πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως μὴ λίαν βαθείας τὰς
φάλαγγας ποιούμεναι αἱ πόλεις κύκλωσιν τοῖς
πολεμίοις παρέχοιεν, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
καὶ δὴ Τεγεάτας παρειληφότες καὶ Μαντινέας
14 ἐξῆσαν τὴν ἀμφίαλον. καὶ πορευόμενοι, σχεδόν
τι ἅμα οἱ μὲν περὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ
ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐν τῷ
Σικυῶνι. ἐμβαλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐπι-
είκειαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων βάλ-
λοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τοξεύοντες μάλα κακῶς ἐποίουν
15 οἱ γυμνῆτες τῶν ἀντιπάλων. ὡς δὲ κατέβησαν
ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ταύτῃ προῆσαν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου,
τέμνοντες καὶ κάοντες τὴν χώραν· καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι
μέντοι ἀπελθόντες κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, ἔμπρο-
σθεν ποιησάμενοι τὴν χαράδραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντες
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκέτι δέκα στάδια ἀπεῖχον τῶν
πολεμίων, κἀκεῖνοι αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι
ἡσυχίαν εἶχον.
16 Φράσω δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἑκατέρων. συνε-
λέγησαν γὰρ ὁπλῖται Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν εἰς

[1] Apparently the Argolic Gulf.

they suffer no harm and subdue the wasps. Considering these things, therefore, I believe it is best to fight the battle in Lacedaemon itself if possible, but if not, as near there as we can." Since it was thought that his advice was good, they voted for this course. But while they were negotiating about the leadership and trying to come to an agreement with one another as to the number of ranks in depth in which the whole army should be drawn up, in order to prevent the states from making their phalanxes too deep and thus giving the enemy a chance of surrounding them,—meanwhile the Lacedaemonians, having already picked up the Tegeans and Mantineans, were on their outward march, taking the road along the sea-shore.[1] And as the two armies marched on, the Corinthians and their allies were in the district of Nemea, and the Lacedaemonians and their allies at Sicyon, at almost the same time. Now when the latter had made their entry into Corinthian territory by way of Epieiceia, at first the light troops of their adversaries did them a great deal of harm by throwing missiles and discharging arrows upon them from the heights upon their right. But when they had descended towards the sea,[2] they marched on by this route through the plain, devastating and burning the land. The enemy also, however, retired and encamped, getting the river-bed[3] in front of them; and when, as they advanced, the Lacedaemonians were distant not so much as ten stadia from the enemy, they also encamped where they were and remained quiet. 394 B.C.

And now I will state the numbers on either side. As for hoplites, there had gathered together of the

[2] The Corinthian Gulf. [3] Of the Nemea.

ἑξακισχιλίους, Ἠλείων δὲ καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ Ἀκρωρείων καὶ Λασιωνίων ἐγγὺς τρισχίλιοι καὶ Σικυωνίων πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι, Ἐπιδαυρίων δὲ καὶ Τροιζηνίων καὶ Ἑρμιονέων καὶ Ἁλιῶν ἐγένοντο οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἱππεῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ ἑξακοσίους, Κρῆτες δὲ τοξόται ἠκολούθουν ὡς τριακόσιοι, καὶ μὴν σφενδονῆται Μαργανέων καὶ Λετρίνων καὶ Ἀμφιδόλων οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσίων. Φλειάσιοι μέντοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν· ἐκεχειρίαν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἔχειν. αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ μετὰ
17 Λακεδαιμονίων δύναμις ἦν. ἥ γε μὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἠθροίσθη Ἀθηναίων μὲν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους ὁπλίτας, Ἀργείων δ' ἐλέγοντο περὶ ἑπτακισχιλίους, Βοιωτῶν δ', ἐπεὶ Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρῆσαν, περὶ πεντακισχιλίους, Κορινθίων γε μὴν εἰς τρισχιλίους, καὶ μὴν ἐξ Εὐβοίας ἁπάσης οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. ὁπλιτικὸν μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτον· ἱππεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν μέν, ἐπεὶ Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρῆσαν,[1] εἰς ὀκτακοσίους, Ἀθηναίων δ' εἰς ἑξακοσίους, καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐξ Εὐβοίας εἰς ἑκατόν, Λοκρῶν δὲ τῶν Ὀπουντίων εἰς πεντήκοντα. καὶ ψιλῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς τῶν Κορινθίων πλέον ἦν·[2] καὶ γὰρ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀζόλαι καὶ Μηλιεῖς καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς.
18 Αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἑκατέρων ἡ δύναμις ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ ἕως μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον, οὐδέν τι

[1] ἐπεὶ . . . παρῆσαν MSS.: Kel. brackets.
[2] ἦν: Kel. assumes a lacuna after it.

[1] *i.e.* on account of some religious festival.

Lacedaemonians about six thousand, of the Eleans, Triphylians, Acrorians, and Lasionians almost three thousand, and of the Sicyonians one thousand five hundred, while of the Epidaurians, Troezenians, Hermionians, and Halians there were not less than three thousand. Besides these there were horsemen of the Lacedaemonians to the number of about seven hundred, Cretan bowmen who accompanied the army, about three hundred, and, further, slingers of the Marganians, Letrinians, and Amphidolians, not less than four hundred. The Phliasians, however, would not join them; for they said that they were keeping a holy truce.[1] This, then, was the force on the side of the Lacedaemonians. But the force of the enemy which was gathered together included, of the Athenians about six thousand hoplites, of the Argives, according to all accounts, about seven thousand, of the Boeotians (since the Orchomenians were not present) only about five thousand, of the Corinthians about three thousand, and, further, from the whole of Euboea not less than three thousand. This was the number of the hoplites; but as for horsemen, there were of the Boeotians (since the Orchomenians were not present) about eight hundred, of the Athenians about six hundred, of the Chalcidians from Euboea about one hundred, and of the Opuntian Locrians about fifty. And of light troops also there was a greater number with the party of the Corinthians; for the Ozolian Locrians, Malians, and Acarnanians were with them. 394 B.C.

This, then, was the force on either side. Now the Boeotians, so long as they occupied the left wing,[2]

[2] In this position they were opposite the Lacedaemonians, who always took the right wing.

κατήπειγον τὴν μάχην συνάπτειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένοντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν ἔσχον καὶ κατ' Ἀχαιοὺς ἀντετάχθησαν, εὐθὺς τά τε ἱερὰ καλὰ ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ παρήγγειλαν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ εἰς ἑκκαίδεκα βαθεῖαν παντελῶς ἐποιήσαντο τὴν φάλαγγα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἦγον ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, ὅπως ὑπερέχοιεν τῷ κέρατι τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα μὴ διασπασθείησαν, ἐπηκολούθουν, καίπερ γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι κίνδυνος εἴη κυκλωθῆναι.
19 τέως μὲν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ᾐσθάνοντο προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λάσιον τὸ χωρίον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν, τότε δὴ ἔγνωσαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀντιπαρήγγειλαν ἅπαντας διασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς μάχην. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνετάχθησαν ὡς ἑκάστους οἱ ξεναγοὶ ἔταξαν, παρηγγύησαν μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, ἦγον δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, καὶ οὕτω πολὺ ὑπερέτεινον τὸ κέρας ὥστε τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ μὲν ἓξ φυλαὶ κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένοντο, αἱ δὲ τέτταρες κατὰ
20 Τεγεάτας. οὐκέτι δὲ στάδιον ἀπεχόντων, σφαγιασάμενοι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ, ὥσπερ νομίζεται, τὴν χίμαιραν, ἡγοῦντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους, τὸ ὑπερέχον ἐπικάμψαντες εἰς κύκλωσιν.

[1] Evidently agreed upon. *cp.* § 13.
[2] Goddess of the chase.

were not in the least eager to join battle; but when 394 B.C the Athenians took position opposite the Lacedaemonians, and the Boeotians themselves got the right wing and were stationed opposite the Achaeans, they immediately said that the sacrifices were favourable and gave the order to make ready, saying that there would be a battle. And in the first place, disregarding the sixteen-rank formation,[1] they made their phalanx exceedingly deep, and, besides, they also veered to the right in leading the advance, in order to outflank the enemy with their wing; and the Athenians, in order not to be detached from the rest of the line, followed them towards the right, although they knew that there was danger of their being surrounded. Now for a time the Lacedaemonians did not perceive that the enemy were advancing; for the place was thickly overgrown; but when the latter struck up the paean, then at length they knew, and immediately gave orders in their turn that all should make ready for battle. And when they had been drawn up together in the positions which the Lacedaemonian leaders of the allies assigned to the several divisions, they passed the word along to follow the van. Now the Lacedaemonians also veered to the right in leading the advance, and extended their wing so far beyond that of the enemy that only six tribes of the Athenians found themselves opposite the Lacedaemonians, the other four being opposite the Tegeans. And when the armies were now not so much as a stadium apart, the Lacedaemonians sacrificed the goat to Artemis Agrotera,[2] as is their custom, and led the charge upon their adversaries, wheeling round their overlapping wing in order to surround them. When

ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέμειξαν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι πάντες οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, Πελληνεῖς δὲ κατὰ Θεσπιᾶς γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντό τε καὶ ἐν χώρᾳ ἔπιπτον ἑκατέρων.
21 αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσον τε κατέσχον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι τῷ ὑπερέχοντι πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἅτε δὴ ἀπαθεῖς ὄντες, συντεταγμένοι ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ τὰς μὲν τέτταρας φυλὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρὶν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἐπαναχωρῆσαι παρῆλθον, ὥστε οὐκ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν πλὴν εἴ τις ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ
22 ὑπὸ Τεγεατῶν· τοῖς δ' Ἀργείοις ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀναχωροῦσι, καὶ μέλλοντος τοῦ πρώτου πολεμάρχου ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου συμβάλλειν αὐτοῖς, λέγεται ἄρα τις ἀναβοῆσαι παρεῖναι τοὺς πρώτους. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, παραθέοντας δὴ παίοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν. ἐπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ Κορινθίων ἀναχωρούντων. ἔτι δ' ἐπέτυχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τισὶν ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως, καὶ ἀπέ-
23 κτειναν συχνοὺς αὐτῶν. τούτων δὲ γενομένων, οἱ ἡττώμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔφευγον πρὸς τὰ τείχη· ἔπειτα δ' εἰρξάντων Κορινθίων πάλιν κατεσκήνησαν εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον στρατόπεδον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὖ ἐπαναχωρήσαντες, ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον τοῖς πολεμίοις συνέμειξαν, ἐστήσαντο τροπαῖον. καὶ αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ μάχη οὕτως ἐγένετο.

III. Ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος σπεύδων μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβοήθει· ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει ἀγγέλλει

---

1 *i.e.* on the right side, the shield being carried on the left arm.

they had come to close encounter, all the allies of the Lacedaemonians were overcome by their adversaries except the men of Pellene, who, being pitted against the Thespians, fought and fell in their places,—as did also many of the other side. But the Lacedaemonians themselves overcame that part of the Athenians which they covered, and wheeling round with their overlapping wing killed many of them, and then, unscathed as they were, marched on with lines unbroken. They passed by the other four tribes of the Athenians before the latter had returned from the pursuit, so that none of these were killed except such as fell in the original encounter, at the hands of the Tegeans; but the Lacedaemonians did come upon the Argives as they were returning from the pursuit, and when the first polemarch was about to attack them in front, it is said that some one shouted out to let their front ranks pass by. When this had been done, they struck them on their unprotected sides[1] as they ran past, and killed many of them. The Lacedaemonians also attacked the Corinthians as they were returning. And, furthermore, they likewise came upon some of the Thebans returning from the pursuit, and killed a large number of them. These things having taken place, the defeated troops at first fled to the walls of Corinth; but afterwards, since the Corinthians shut them out, they encamped again in their old camp. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, returning to the place where they first engaged the enemy, set up a trophy. Such, then, was the issue of this battle. 394 B.C.

III. Meanwhile Agesilaus was hurrying from Asia to the rescue; and when he was at Amphipolis,

Δερκυλίδας ὅτι νικῷέν τε αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν τεθνάναι ὀκτώ, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων παμπληθεῖς· ἐδήλου δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ
2 ὀλίγοι πεπτωκότες εἶεν. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου· Ἆρ᾿ ἄν, ὦ Δερκυλίδα, ἐν καιρῷ γένοιτο, εἰ αἱ συμπέμπουσαι πόλεις ἡμῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας τὴν νίκην ὡς τάχιστα πύθοιντο; ἀπεκρίνατο δὴ ὁ Δερκυλίδας· Εὐθυμοτέρους γοῦν εἰκὸς ταῦτ᾿ ἀκούσαντας εἶναι. Οὐκοῦν σύ, ἐπεὶ παρεγένου, κάλλιστα ἂν ἀπαγγείλαις; ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας, καὶ γὰρ ἀεὶ φιλαπόδημος ἦν, εἶπεν· Εἰ σὺ τάττοις. Ἀλλὰ τάττω, ἔφη, καὶ προσαπαγγέλλειν γε κελεύω ὅτι ἐὰν καὶ τάδε εὖ γένηται, πάλιν
3 παρεσόμεθα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔφαμεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας ἐφ᾿ Ἑλλησπόντου πρῶτον ἐπορεύετο.

Ὁ δ᾿ Ἀγησίλαος διαλλάξας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο. Λαρισαῖοι μὲν οὖν καὶ Κραννώνιοι καὶ Σκοτουσσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι, σύμμαχοι ὄντες Βοιωτοῖς, καὶ πάντες δὲ Θετταλοί, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότ᾿ ἐτύγχανον,
4 ἐκακούργουν αὐτὸν ἐπακολουθοῦντες. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἦγεν ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸ στράτευμα, τοὺς ἡμίσεις μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἡμίσεις δ᾿ ἐπ᾿ οὐρᾷ ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων· ἐπεὶ δ᾿ ἐκώλυον τῆς πορείας οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἐπελαύνοντες τοῖς ὄπισθεν, παραπέμπει ἐπ᾿ οὐρὰν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἱππικὸν πλὴν τῶν περὶ
5 αὐτόν· ὡς δὲ παρετάξαντο ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν Θετταλοὶ νομίσαντες οὐκ ἐν καλῷ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς

Dercylidas brought him word that this time the 394 B.C. Lacedaemonians were victorious, and that only eight of them had been killed, but of the enemy a vast number; he made it known to him, however, that not a few of the allies of the Lacedaemonians had also fallen. And when Agesilaus asked: "Would it not be advantageous, Dercylidas, if the cities which are sending their troops with us should learn of the victory as speedily as possible?" Dercylidas replied: "It is certainly likely that they would be in better spirits if they heard of this." "Then are not you the man who could report it best, since you were present at the battle?" And Dercylidas, glad to hear this, for he was always fond of travel, replied: "If you should so order." "Well, I do," said Agesilaus, "and I bid you announce, further, that if the present undertaking also turns out well, we shall come back again, even as we said." Accordingly Dercylidas set out at once for the Hellespont.

And Agesilaus, passing through Macedonia, arrived in Thessaly. Then the Larisaeans, Crannonians, Scotussaeans, and Pharsalians, who were allies of the Boeotians, and in fact all the Thessalians except those of them who chanced at that time to be exiles, followed after him and kept molesting him. And for a time he led the army in a hollow square, with one half of the horsemen in front and the other half at the rear; but when the Thessalians, by charging upon those who were behind, kept interfering with his progress, he sent along to the rear the vanguard of horsemen also, except those about his own person. Now when the two forces had formed in line of battle against one another, the Thessalians, thinking that it was not expedient

ὁπλίτας ἱππομαχεῖν, στρέψαντες βάδην ἀπεχώ-
6 ρουν. οἱ δὲ μάλα σωφρόνως ἐπηκολούθουν. γνοὺς
δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἃ ἑκάτεροι ἡμάρτανον, πέμπει
τοὺς περὶ αὑτὸν μάλα εὐρώστους ἱππέας, καὶ
κελεύει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις παραγγέλλειν καὶ αὐτοὺς
διώκειν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ μηκέτι δοῦναι αὐτοῖς
7 ἀναστροφήν. οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ ὡς εἶδον παρὰ
δόξαν ἐλαύνοντας, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφυγον, οἱ δ'
ἀνέστρεψαν, οἱ δὲ πειρώμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, πλα-
8 γίους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ἡλίσκοντο. Πολύ-
χαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος ἱππαρχῶν ἀνέστρεψέ
τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὑτὸν ἀποθνήσκει.
ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, φυγὴ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἐξαισία
γίγνεται· ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ
καὶ ἡλίσκοντο. ἔστησαν δ' οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν, πρὶν
9 ἐν Ναρθακίῳ ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε μὲν
δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαῖόν τ' ἐστήσατο μεταξὺ
Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε, μάλα
ἡδόμενος τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας
ἐπὶ ἱππικῇ ἐνενικήκει σὺν ᾧ αὐτὸς συνέλεξεν
ἱππικῷ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ Ἀχαϊκὰ
τῆς Φθίας ὄρη τὴν λοιπὴν πᾶσαν διὰ φιλίας
ἐπορεύετο μέχρι πρὸς τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὅρια.

10 Ὄντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμβολῇ ὁ ἥλιος μηνοει-
δὴς ἔδοξε φανῆναι, καὶ ἠγγέλθη ὅτι ἡττημένοι
εἶεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ ὁ ναύαρ-
χος Πείσανδρος τεθναίη. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ᾧ τρόπῳ

---

[1] *cp.* III. iv. 29.

to engage as cavalry in a battle with hoplites, turned round and slowly retired. And the Greeks very cautiously followed them. Agesilaus, however, perceiving the mistakes which each side was making, sent the very stalwart horsemen who were about his person and ordered them not only to give word to the others to pursue with all speed, but to do likewise themselves, and not to give the Thessalians a chance to face round again. And when the Thessalians saw them rushing upon them unexpectedly, some of them fled, others turned about, and others, in trying to do this, were captured while their horses were turned half round. But Polycharmus the Pharsalian, who was the commander of the cavalry, turned round and fell fighting, together with those about him. When this happened, there followed a headlong flight on the part of the Thessalians, so that some of them were killed and others were captured. At all events they did not stop until they had arrived at Mount Narthacium. On that day, accordingly, Agesilaus set up a trophy between Pras and Narthacium and remained on the field of battle, greatly pleased with his exploit, in that he had been victorious, over the people who pride themselves particularly upon their horsemanship, with the cavalry that he had himself gathered together. And on the following day he crossed the Achaean mountains of Phthia and marched on through a friendly country all the rest of the way, even to the boundaries of the Boeotians. 394 B.C.

When he was at the entrance to Boeotia, the sun seemed to appear crescent-shaped, and word was brought to him that the Lacedaemonians had been defeated in the naval battle and the admiral, Peisander,[1] had been killed. It was also stated in what

11 ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ περὶ Κνίδον
τὸν ἐπίπλουν ἀλλήλοις, Φαρνάβαζον δὲ ναύαρχον
ὄντα σὺν ταῖς Φοινίσσαις εἶναι, Κόνωνα δὲ τὸ
Ἑλληνικὸν ἔχοντα τετάχθαι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ.
12 ἀντιπαραταξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Πεισάνδρου, καὶ πολὺ
ἐλαττόνων αὐτῷ τῶν νεῶν φανεισῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ
τοῦ μετὰ Κόνωνος Ἑλληνικοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ
εὐωνύμου συμμάχους εὐθὺς αὐτῷ φεύγειν, αὐτὸν
δὲ συμμείξαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμβολὰς ἐχούσῃ
τῇ τριήρει πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐξωσθῆναι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν
ἄλλους ὅσοι εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐξεώσθησαν ἀπολιπόντας
τὰς ναῦς σῴζεσθαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο εἰς τὴν Κνίδον,
13 αὐτὸν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νηὶ μαχόμενον ἀποθανεῖν. ὁ οὖν
Ἀγησίλαος πυθόμενος ταῦτα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
χαλεπῶς ἤνεγκεν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐνεθυμήθη ὅτι τοῦ
στρατεύματος τὸ πλεῖστον εἴη αὐτῷ οἷον ἀγαθῶν
μὲν γιγνομένων ἡδέως μετέχειν, εἰ δέ τι χαλεπὸν
ὁρῷεν, οὐκ ἀνάγκην εἶναι κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐκ
τούτου μεταβαλὼν ἔλεγεν ὡς ἀγγέλλοιτο ὁ μὲν
Πείσανδρος τετελευτηκώς, νικῷν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.
14 ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἐβουθύτει ὡς εὐαγγέλια
καὶ πολλοῖς διέπεμπε τῶν τεθυμένων· ὥστε ἀκρο-
βολισμοῦ ὄντος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκράτησαν
οἱ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τῷ λόγῳ ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων
νικώντων τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.
15 Ἦσαν δ' οἱ μὲν ἀντιτεταγμένοι τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ
Βοιωτοί, Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Κορίνθιοι, Αἰνιᾶνες,
Εὐβοεῖς, Λοκροὶ ἀμφότεροι· σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ δὲ

[1] *cp.* II. i. 29. Through the influence of Pharnabazus, Conon had been commissioned a Persian admiral. His fleet was "Greek" merely in the sense that it was manned by Greek mercenaries and volunteers.

way the battle had been fought. For it was near Cnidos that the fleets sailed against one another, and Pharnabazus, who was admiral, was with the Phoenician ships, while Conon[1] with the Greek fleet was posted in front of him. And when Peisander, in spite of his ships being clearly fewer than the Greek ships under Conon, had formed his line of battle against them, his allies on the left wing immediately fled, and he himself, after coming to close encounter with the enemy, was driven ashore, his trireme damaged by the enemy's beaks; and all the others who were driven ashore abandoned their ships and made their escape as best they could to Cnidos, but he fell fighting on board his ship. Now Agesilaus, on learning these things, at first was overcome with sorrow; but when he had considered that the most of his troops were the sort of men to share gladly in good fortune if good fortune came, but that if they saw anything unpleasant, they were under no compulsion to share in it,[2]—thereupon, changing the report, he said that word had come that Peisander was dead, but victorious in the naval battle. And at the moment of saying these things he offered sacrifice as if for good news, and sent around to many people portions of the victims which had been offered; so that when a skirmish with the enemy took place, the troops of Agesilaus won the day in consequence of the report that the Lacedaemonians were victorious in the naval battle. 394 B.C.

Those who were now drawn up against Agesilaus were the Boeotians, Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, Aenianians, Euboeans, and both[3] the Locrian peoples; while with Agesilaus was a regiment of Lacedae-

[2] *i.e.* being practically volunteers (*cp.* ii. 4). [3] *cp.* ii. 17.

Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν μόρα ἡ ἐκ Κορίνθου διαβᾶσα, ἥμισυ δὲ μόρας τῆς ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ, ἔτι δ' οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος νεοδαμώδεις συστρατευσάμενοι αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὗ Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει ξενικοῦ, ἔτι δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὅσας διιὼν παρέλαβεν· αὐτόθεν δὲ προσεγένοντο ὁπλῖται Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ Φωκεῖς. πελτασταί γε μὴν πολὺ πλείους οἱ μετ' Ἀγησιλάου· ἱππεῖς δ'
16 αὖ παραπλήσιοι ἀμφοτέροις τὸ πλῆθος. ἡ μὲν δὴ δύναμις αὕτη ἀμφοτέρων· διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην, καὶ πῶς ἐγένετο οἵα οὐκ ἄλλη τῶν γ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν. συνῆσαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν πεδίον οἱ μὲν σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ σὺν Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος. εἶχε δ' Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δεξιὸν τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, Ὀρχομένιοι δ' αὐτῷ ἔσχατοι ἦσαν τοῦ εὐωνύμου. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δεξιοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον.

17 Συνιόντων δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴ πολλὴ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν· ἡνίκα δ' ἀπεῖχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο. ὡς δὲ τριῶν ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ ὄντων ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγησιλάου φάλαγγος ὧν Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἴωνες καὶ Αἰολεῖς καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι, καὶ πάντες οὗτοι τῶν συνεκδραμόντων τε ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰς δόρυ ἀφικόμενοι

monians which had crossed over from Corinth, half 394 B.C. of the regiment from Orchomenus, furthermore the emancipated Helots from Lacedaemon who had made the expedition with him, besides these the foreign contingent which Herippidas commanded, and, furthermore, the troops from the Greek cities in Asia and from all those cities in Europe which he had brought over as he passed through them; and from the immediate neighbourhood there came to him hoplites of the Orchomenians and Phocians. As for peltasts, those with Agesilaus were far more numerous; on the other hand, the horsemen of either side were about equal in number. This, then, was the force on both sides; and I will also describe the battle, and how it proved to be like no other of the battles of our time. They met on the plain of Coronea, those with Agesilaus coming from the Cephisus, and those with the Thebans from Mount Helicon. And Agesilaus occupied the right wing of the army under his command, while the Orchomenians were at the extreme end of his left wing. On the other side, the Thebans themselves were on the right and the Argives occupied their left wing.

Now as the opposing armies were coming together, there was deep silence for a time in both lines; but when they were distant from one another about a stadium, the Thebans raised the war-cry and rushed to close quarters on the run. When, however, the distance between the armies was still about three plethra, the troops whom Herippidas commanded, and with them the Ionians, Aeolians, and Hellespontines, ran forth in their turn from the phalanx of Agesilaus, and the whole mass joined in the charge and, when they came within spear thrust, put to flight

ἔτρεψαν τὸ καθ' αὑτούς. Ἀργεῖοι μέντοι οὐκ
ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ Ἀγησίλαον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἐπὶ
18 τὸν Ἑλικῶνα. κἀνταῦθα οἱ μέν τινες τῶν ξένων
ἐστεφάνουν ἤδη τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἀγγέλλει δέ τις
αὐτῷ ὅτι οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους διακό-
ψαντες ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἴησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν
εὐθὺς ἐξελίξας τὴν φάλαγγα ἦγεν ἐπ' αὐτούς·
οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς
Ἑλικῶνι πεφευγότας, διαπεσεῖν βουλόμενοι πρὸς
τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, συσπειραθέντες ἐχώρουν ἐρρωμένως.
19 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαον ἀνδρεῖον μὲν ἔξεστιν
εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβητήτως· οὐ μέντοι εἵλετό γε τὰ
ἀσφαλέστατα. ἐξὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρέντι τοὺς
διαπίπτοντας ἀκολουθοῦντι χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ὄπι-
σθεν, οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀντιμέτωπος
συνέρραξε τοῖς Θηβαίοις· καὶ συμβαλόντες τὰς
ἀσπίδας ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέ-
θνῃσκον. τέλος δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν δια-
πίπτουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἑλικῶνα, πολλοὶ δ' ἀποχω-
20 ροῦντες ἀπέθανον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ μὲν νίκη Ἀγησιλάου
ἐγεγένητο, τετρωμένος δ' αὐτὸς προσενήνεκτο
πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, προσελάσαντές τινες τῶν
ἱππέων λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων ὡς
ὀγδοήκοντα σὺν ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῷ νεῷ εἰσι, καὶ
ἠρώτων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ὁ δέ, καίπερ πολλὰ
τραύματα ἔχων, ὅμως οὐκ ἐπελάθετο τοῦ θείου,
ἀλλ' ἐᾶν τε ἀπιέναι ᾗ βούλοιντο ἐκέλευε καὶ
ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἴα. τότε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη

the force in their front. As for the Argives, they did not await the attack of the forces of Agesilaus, but fled to Mount Helicon. Thereupon some of the mercenaries were already garlanding Agesilaus, when a man brought him word that the Thebans had cut their way through the Orchomenians and were in among the baggage train. And he immediately wheeled his phalanx and led the advance against them; but the Thebans on their side, when they saw that their allies had taken refuge at Mount Helicon, wishing to break through to join their own friends, massed themselves together and came on stoutly. 394 B.C.

At this point one may unquestionably call Agesilaus courageous; at least he certainly did not choose the safest course. For while he might have let the men pass by who were trying to break through and then have followed them and overcome those in the rear, he did not do this, but crashed against the Thebans front to front; and setting shields against shields they shoved, fought, killed, and were killed. Finally, some of the Thebans broke through and reached Mount Helicon, but many were killed while making their way thither. Now when the victory had fallen to Agesilaus and he himself had been carried, wounded, to the phalanx, some of the horsemen rode up and told him that about eighty of the enemy, still armed, had taken shelter in the temple of Athena, and asked him what they should do. And he, although he had received many wounds, nevertheless did not forget the deity, but ordered them to allow these men to go away whithersoever they wished, and would permit them to commit no wrong. Then—it was already late—they took

21 ὀψέ, δειπνοποιησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν. πρῲ δὲ Γῦλιν τὸν πολέμαρχον παρατάξαι τε ἐκέλευε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τροπαῖον ἵστασθαι, καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔπεμψαν κήρυκας, ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς αἰτοῦντες θάψαι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ αἵ τε σπονδαὶ γίγνονται καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενος δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας τῷ θεῷ ἀπέθυσεν οὐκ ἐλάττω ἑκατὸν ταλάντων· Γῦλις δὲ ὁ πολέμαρχος ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς Φω-
22 κέας, ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα ἐμβάλλει. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἡμέραν οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ σκεύη ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν καὶ σῖτον ἥρπαζον· ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἦν, τελευταίων ἀποχωρούντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπηκολούθουν αὐτοῖς οἱ Λοκροὶ βάλλοντες καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες. ὡς δ' αὐτῶν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑποστρέψαντες καὶ διώξαντες κατέβαλόν τινας, ἐκ τούτου ὄπισθεν μὲν οὐκέτι ἐπηκολούθουν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων ἔβαλλον.
23 οἱ δ' ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν διώκειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ σκότος τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀποχωροῦντες οἱ μὲν διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἔπιπτον, οἱ δὲ καὶ[1] διὰ τὸ μὴ προορᾶν τὰ[2] ἔμπροσθεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν, ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνήσκουσι Γῦλίς τε ὁ πολέμαρχος καὶ τῶν παραστατῶν Πελλῆς, καὶ οἱ πάντες ὡς ὀκτωκαίδεκα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, οἱ μὲν

[1] καὶ MSS.: Kel. brackets. [2] τὰ MSS.: Kel. brackets.

dinner and lay down to rest. And in the morning Agesilaus gave orders that Gylis, the polemarch, should draw up the army in line of battle and set up a trophy, that all should deck themselves with garlands in honour of the god,[1] and that all the flute-players should play. And they did these things. The Thebans, however, sent heralds asking to bury their dead under a truce. In this way, accordingly, the truce was made, and Agesilaus went to Delphi and offered to the god a tithe of the amount derived from his booty, an offering of not less than one hundred talents; but Gylis, the polemarch, withdrew with the army to Phocis and from there made an invasion of Locris. And for most of the day the soldiers busied themselves in carrying off portable property and provisions from the villages; but when it was towards evening and they were withdrawing, the Lacedaemonians being in the rear, the Locrians followed after them throwing stones and javelins. And when the Lacedaemonians, turning about and setting out in pursuit, had struck down some of them, after that, although the Locrians no longer followed in their rear, they threw missiles upon them from the heights upon their right. Then the Lacedaemonians again undertook to pursue them, even up the slope; but since darkness was coming on and, as they were retiring from the pursuit, some of them fell on account of the roughness of the country, others because they could not see what was ahead of them, and still others from the missiles of the enemy, under these circumstances Gylis, the polemarch, and Pelles, one of his comrades, were slain, and in all about eighteen of the Spartiatae,

394 B.C.

[1] The Dorian Apollo.

καταλευσθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ τραυματισθέντες. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐβοήθησαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δειπνοῦντες, ἐκινδύνευσαν ἂν ἅπαντες ἀπολέσθαι.

IV. Μετὰ τοῦτό γε μὴν ἀφείθη μὲν κατὰ πόλεις τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ἀπέπλευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπ' οἴκου. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπολέμουν Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὁρμώμενοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐκ Σικυῶνος. ὁρῶντες δ' οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἑαυτῶν μὲν καὶ τὴν χώραν δῃουμένην καὶ πολλοὺς[1] ἀποθνήσκοντας διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους συμμάχους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὄντας καὶ τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐνεργοὺς οὔσας, οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ βέλτιστοι αὐτῶν εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησαν, καὶ συνιστάμενοι ἐδίδασκον
2 ταῦτα ἀλλήλους. γνόντες δ' οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Κορινθίων οἵ τε τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρημάτων μετεσχηκότες καὶ οἱ τοῦ πολέμου αἰτιώτατοι γεγενημένοι ὡς εἰ μὴ ἐκποδὼν ποιήσοιντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην τετραμμένους, κινδυνεύσει πάλιν ἡ πόλις λακωνίσαι, οὕτω δὴ σφαγὰς ἐπεχείρουν ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον ἐβουλεύσαντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, κἂν νόμῳ τις καταγνωσθῇ, οὐκ ἀποκτιννύουσιν ἐν ἑορτῇ· ἐκεῖνοι δ' Εὐκλείων τὴν τελευταίαν προείλοντο, ὅτι πλείους ἂν ᾤοντο λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὥστε ἀπο-
3 κτεῖναι. ὡς δ' ἐσημάνθη οἷς εἴρητο οὓς ἔδει ἀπο-

[1] πολλοὺς inserted by Kel., following Breitenbach.

some by being stoned to death, some by javelin wounds. And if some of those who were in the camp at dinner had not come to their aid, all of them would have been in danger of perishing. 394 B.C.

IV. After this the various contingents of the army were dismissed to their several cities and Agesilaus also sailed back home. And from that time on the 393 B.C. Athenians, Boeotians, Argives, and their allies continued the war, making Corinth their base, and the Lacedaemonians and their allies from Sicyon. As the Corinthians, however, saw that their own land was being laid waste and that many of them were being killed because they were continually near the enemy, while the rest of the allies were living in peace themselves and their lands were under cultivation, the most and best of them came to desire peace, and uniting together urged this course upon one another. But the Argives, Athenians, Boeotians, and 392 B.C. those among the Corinthians who had received a share of the money from the King, as well as those who had made themselves chiefly responsible for the war, realizing that if they did not put out of the way the people who had turned toward peace, the state would be in danger of going over to the Lacedaemonians again, undertook, under these circumstances, to bring about a general massacre. And in the first place, they devised the most sacrilegious of all schemes; for other people, even if a man is condemned by process of law, do not put him to death during a religious festival; but these men chose the last day of the Euclea,[1] because they thought they would catch more people in the market-place, so as to kill them. Then again, when the signal was given

[1] The festival of Artemis Euclea.

κτεῖναι, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη ἔπαιον τὸν μέν τινα συνεστηκότα ἐν κύκλῳ, τὸν δὲ καθήμενον,[1] τὸν δέ τινα ἐν θεάτρῳ, ἔστι δ' ὃν καὶ κριτὴν καθήμενον. ὡς δ' ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρᾶγμα, εὐθὺς ἔφευγον οἱ βέλτιστοι, οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ θεῶν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμούς· ἔνθα δὴ οἱ ἀνοσιώτατοι καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲν νόμιμον φρονοῦντες, οἵ τε κελεύοντες καὶ οἱ πειθόμενοι, ἔσφαττον καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὥστ' ἐνίους καὶ τῶν οὐ τυπτομένων, νομίμων δ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀδη-
4 μονῆσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἰδόντας τὴν ἀσέβειαν. ἀποθνῄσκουσι δ' οὕτω τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων πολλοί· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἔτυχον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὄντες· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι, ὑποπτεύσαντος Πασιμήλου τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι, ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ. ὡς δὲ τῆς κραυγῆς ᾔσθοντο, καὶ φεύγοντές τινες ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐκ τούτου ἀναδραμόντες κατὰ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, προσβαλόντας μὲν Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπε-
5 κρούσαντο· βουλευομένων δὲ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, πίπτει τὸ κιόκρανον ἀπό του κίονος οὔτε σεισμοῦ οὔτε ἀνέμου γενομένου. καὶ θυομένοις δὲ τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ ἱερὰ ὥστε οἱ μάντεις ἔφασαν ἄμεινον εἶναι καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς φευξόμενοι ἔξω τῆς Κορινθίας ἀπεχώρησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοὺς ἔπειθον καὶ μητέρες

[1] τὸν δὲ καθήμενον MSS.: Kel. brackets.

to those who had been told whom they were to kill, they drew their swords and struck men down,—one while standing in a social group, another while sitting in his seat, still another in the theatre, and another even while he was sitting as judge in a dramatic contest. Now when the situation became known, the better classes immediately fled, in part to the statues of the gods in the market-place, in part to the altars; then the conspirators, utterly sacrilegious and without so much as a single thought for civilized usage, both those who gave the orders and those who obeyed, kept up the slaughter even at the holy places, so that some even among those who were not victims of the attack, being right-minded men, were dismayed in their hearts at beholding such impiety. In this way many of the older men were killed; for it was they especially who chanced to be in the market-place; while the younger men, since Pasimelus suspected what was going to happen, had remained quietly in the gymnasium of Craneium. But when they heard the outcry and some had come to them in flight from the massacre, thereupon, rushing up on the slopes of Acrocorinthus,[1] they beat off an attack which the Argives and the rest made upon them; while they were deliberating, however, as to what they should do, the capital fell from a column, although there had been neither earthquake nor wind. Likewise, when they sacrificed, the omens from the victims were such that the seers said it was better to descend from the place. And at first they retired beyond the territory of Corinth with the intention of going into exile; but when their friends and mothers and sisters kept 392 B.C.

[1] The citadel of Corinth.

ἰοῦσαι καὶ ἀδελφαί, καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει ὄντων ἦσαν οἳ ὀμνύοντες ὑπισχνοῦντο μηδὲν χαλεπὸν αὐτοὺς πείσεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀπῆλθόν
6 τινες οἴκαδε αὐτῶν. ὁρῶντες δὲ τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει ὄντας[1] τυραννεύοντας, αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ ἀφανιζομένην τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ καὶ ὅρους ἀνεσπάσθαι καὶ Ἄργος ἀντὶ Κορίνθου τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῖς ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ πολιτείας μὲν ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῆς ἐν Ἄργει μετέχειν, ἧς οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο, ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει μετοίκων ἔλαττον δυνάμενοι, ἐγένοντό τινες αὐτῶν οἳ ἐνόμισαν οὕτω μὲν ἀβίωτον εἶναι· πειρωμένους δὲ τὴν πατρίδα, ὥσπερ ἦν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, Κόρινθον ποιῆσαι καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἀποδεῖξαι καὶ τῶν μὲν μιαιφόνων καθαράν, εὐνομίᾳ δὲ χρωμένην, ἄξιον εἶναι, εἰ μὲν δύναιντο καταπρᾶξαι ταῦτα, σωτῆρας γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιντο, τῶν γε καλλίστων καὶ μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ὀρεγομένους ἀξιεπαινοτάτης τελευτῆς
7 τυχεῖν. οὕτω δὴ ἐπιχειρεῖτον ἄνδρε δύο, Πασίμηλός τε καὶ Ἀλκιμένης, διαδύντε διὰ χειμάρρου συγγενέσθαι Πραξίτᾳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων πολεμάρχῳ, ὃς ἐτύγχανε μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μόρας φρουρῶν ἐν Σικυῶνι, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι δύναιντ' ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ εἴσοδον εἰς τὰ κατατείνοντα ἐπὶ Λέχαιον τείχη. ὁ δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν γιγνώσκων τὼ ἄνδρε ἀξιοπίστω ὄντε, ἐπίστευσε, καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἀπιέναι μέλλουσαν ἐκ Σικυῶνος μόραν καταμεῖναι, ἔπραττε τὴν εἴσοδον.

[1] ἐν δυνάμει ὄντας inserted by Kel., following Campe.

coming to them and trying to dissuade them, and, further, some of the very men who were in power promised under oath that they should suffer no harm, under these circumstances some of them returned home. They saw, however, that those who were in power were ruling like tyrants, and perceived that their state was being put out of existence, inasmuch as boundary stones had been removed and their fatherland was called Argos instead of Corinth; and, while they were compelled to share in the rights of citizenship at Argos, for which they had no desire, they had less influence in their state than aliens. Some of them, accordingly, came to the belief that life under such conditions was not endurable; but if they endeavoured to make their fatherland Corinth again, even as it had been from the beginning, and to make it free, and not only pure of the stain of the murderers, but blest with an orderly government, they thought it a worthy deed, if they could accomplish these things, to become saviours of their fatherland, but if they could not do so, to meet a most praiseworthy death in striving after the fairest and greatest blessings. Accordingly two men, Pasimelus and Alcimenes, undertook by wading through a torrent to effect a meeting with Praxitas, the Lacedaemonian polemarch, who chanced to be on garrison duty with his regiment at Sicyon, and told him that they could give him entrance to the walls which reached down to Lechaeum.[1] And Praxitas, since even before this he had known the two men to be trustworthy, trusted them, and after arranging that the regiment which was about to depart from Sicyon should also remain, made plans

392 B.C.

[1] The port of Corinth.

8 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὼ ἄνδρε καὶ κατὰ τύχην καὶ κατ' ἐπι-
μέλειαν ἐγενέσθην φύλακε κατὰ τὰς πύλας ταύτας
ἔνθαπερ τὸ τροπαῖον ἕστηκεν, οὕτω δὴ ἔχων ὁ
Πραξίτας ἔρχεται τήν τε μόραν καὶ Σικυωνίους
καὶ Κορινθίων ὅσοι φυγάδες ὄντες ἐτύγχανον.
ἐπεὶ δ' ἦν πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις, φοβούμενος τὴν
εἴσοδον, ἐβουλήθη τῶν πιστῶν ἄνδρα εἰσπέμψαι
σκεψόμενον τὰ ἔνδον. τὼ δὲ εἰσηγαγέτην καὶ
οὕτως ἁπλῶς ἀπεδειξάτην ὥστε ὁ εἰσελθὼν ἐξήγ-
γειλε πάντα εἶναι ἀδόλως οἷάπερ ἐλεγέτην. ἐκ
9 τούτου δ' εἰσέρχεται. ὡς δὲ πολὺ διεχόντων
τῶν τειχῶν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων παρατεττόμενοι ὀλίγοι
ἑαυτοῖς ἔδοξαν εἶναι, σταύρωμά τ' ἐποιήσαντο
καὶ τάφρον οἵαν ἐδύναντο πρὸ αὑτῶν, ἕως δὴ
οἱ σύμμαχοι βοηθήσοιεν αὐτοῖς. ἦν δὲ καὶ
ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ λιμένι Βοιωτῶν φυλακή.
Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ εἰσῆλθον ἡμέραν
ἄμαχοι διήγαγον· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἧκον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι
πασσυδίᾳ βοηθοῦντες· καὶ εὑρόντες τεταγμένους
Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ἑαυτῶν, Σικυ-
ωνίους δὲ ἐχομένους, Κορινθίων δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας
ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν πρὸς τῷ ἑῴῳ τείχει,
ἀντιτάττονται ἐχόμενοι τοῦ ἑῴου τείχους οἱ περὶ
Ἰφικράτη μισθοφόροι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἀργεῖοι·
εὐώνυμον δ' εἶχον αὐτοῖς Κορίνθιοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς
10 πόλεως. καταφρονήσαντες δὲ τῷ πλήθει εὐθὺς
ἐχώρουν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν Σικυωνίους ἐκράτησαν καὶ
διασπάσαντες τὸ σταύρωμα ἐδίωκον ἐπὶ θάλατ-

for his entrance. And when the two men, partly by 392 B.C.
accident and partly by contrivance, had been made sentinels at the very gate where the trophy stands, then Praxitas came with his regiment, the Sicyonians, and all the Corinthians who chanced to be exiles. But when he was at the gate, being afraid to make the entry, he wished to send in one of his trusted men to examine the situation inside. Then the two Corinthians led him in and showed him everything in so straightforward a manner that the man who went in reported that all was truly just as they said. Thereupon Praxitas entered. The walls, however, are a long distance from each other; his troops, in consequence, when they formed in line for battle, thought themselves to be few in number, and therefore made a stockade and as good a trench as they could in front of them, to protect them until their allies should come to their aid. Besides, there was a garrison of Thebans in their rear, at the port.

Now the day after the night on which they entered they passed without a battle; but on the following day came the Argives, hurrying with all speed to the rescue; and finding the Lacedaemonians stationed on the right of their own line, the Sicyonians next to them, and the Corinthian exiles, about one hundred and fifty in number, by the eastern wall, the enemy formed in line against them with the mercenaries under Iphicrates close to the eastern wall, and next to them the Argives; while the Corinthians from the city occupied their left wing. Then the Argives, filled with overweening confidence on account of their numbers, advanced at once; and they defeated the Sicyonians, and breaking through the stockade pursued them to the sea and there

ταν, καὶ ἐκεῖ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. Πασίμαχος δὲ ὁ ἱππαρμοστής, ἔχων ἱππέας οὐ πολλούς, ὡς ἑώρα τοὺς Σικυωνίους πιεζομένους, καταδήσας ἀπὸ δένδρων τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ ἀφελόμενος τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτῶν, μετὰ τῶν ἐθελόντων ᾔει ἐναντίον τοῖς Ἀργείοις. οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ὁρῶντες τὰ σίγμα τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων, ὡς Σικυωνίους οὐδὲν ἐφοβοῦντο. ἔνθα δὴ λέγεται εἰπὼν ὁ Πασίμαχος· Ναὶ τὼ σιώ, ὦ Ἀργεῖοι, ψευσεῖ ὑμὲ τὰ σίγμα ταῦτα, χωρεῖν ὁμόσε· καὶ οὕτω μαχόμενος μετ' ὀλίγων πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀποθνῄσκει καὶ ἄλλοι
11 τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. οἱ μέντοι φυγάδες τῶν Κορινθίων νικῶντες τοὺς καθ' αὑτοὺς διέδυσαν ἄνω, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐγγὺς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ κύκλου. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὡς ᾔσθοντο κρατοῦντα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σικυωνίους, βοηθοῦσιν ἐξελθόντες, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ σταύρωμα.[1] οἵ γε μὴν Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν ὄπισθεν ὄντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, στραφέντες δρόμῳ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ σταυρώματος ἐξέπιπτον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔσχατοι αὐτῶν παιόμενοι εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπέθνῃσκον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἀθρόοι σὺν πολλῷ ὄχλῳ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρουν. ὡς δ' ἐνέτυχον τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Κορινθίων, καὶ ἔγνωσαν πολεμίους ὄντας, ἀπέκλιναν πάλιν. ἐνταῦθα μέντοι οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰς κλίμακας ἀναβαίνοντες ἥλλοντο κατὰ τοῦ τείχους καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς κλίμακας ὠθούμενοι καὶ παιόμενοι

[1] ἐξελθόντες . . . σταύρωμα MSS.: Kel. brackets.

killed many of them. But Pasimachus, the Lacedaemonian commander of horse, at the head of a few horsemen, when he saw the Sicyonians hard pressed, tied his horses to trees, took from the Sicyonians their shields, and advanced with a volunteer force against the Argives. The Argives, however, seeing the *Sigmas* upon the shields, did not fear these opponents at all, thinking that they were Sicyonians. Then, as the story goes, Pasimachus said: "By the twin gods,[1] Argives, these *Sigmas* will deceive you," and came to close quarters with them; and fighting thus with a few against many he was slain, and likewise others of his party. Meanwhile the Corinthian exiles, being victorious over the troops opposed to them, pushed their way through in the inland direction and got near the wall which surrounded the city. As for the Lacedaemonians, when they perceived that the forces opposed to the Sicyonians were victorious, they issued forth from the stockade and went to the rescue, keeping the stockade on their left. But when the Argives heard that the Lacedaemonians were in their rear, they turned around and burst out of the stockade again on the run. And those upon their extreme right were struck on their unprotected sides by the Lacedaemonians and killed, but those who were near the wall, crowded together in a disorderly mass, continued their retreat towards the city. When, however, they came upon the Corinthian exiles and discovered that they were enemies, they turned back again. Thereupon some of them, climbing up by the steps to the top of the wall, jumped down on the other side and were killed, others perished around the steps, being 392 B.C.

[1] Castor and Pollux.

ἀπέθνῃσκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ καταπατούμενοι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπεπνίγοντο.
12 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἠπόρουν τίνα ἀποκτείνοιεν· ἔδωκε γὰρ τότε γε ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἔργον οἷον οὐδ' ηὔξαντό ποτ' ἄν. τὸ γὰρ ἐγχειρισθῆναι αὐτοῖς πολεμίων πλῆθος πεφοβημένον, ἐκπεπληγμένον, τὰ γυμνὰ παρέχον, ἐπὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι οὐδένα τρεπόμενον, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀπόλλυσθαι πάντας πάντα ὑπηρετοῦντας, πῶς οὐκ ἄν τις θεῖον ἡγήσαιτο; τότε γοῦν οὕτως ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλοὶ ἔπεσον ὥστε εἰθισμένοι ὁρᾶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι σωροὺς σίτου, ξύλων, λίθων, τότε ἐθεάσαντο σωροὺς νεκρῶν. ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῶν Βοιωτῶν φύλακες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ τέγη τῶν νεωσοίκων ἀναβάντες.
13 μετὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπήγοντο, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐβοήθουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠθροίσθησαν, ἔγνω Πραξίτας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν τειχῶν καθελεῖν ὥστε δίοδον στρατοπέδῳ ἱκανὴν εἶναι, ἔπειτα δ' ἀναλαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἦγε τὴν ἐπὶ Μέγαρα, καὶ αἱρεῖ προσβαλὼν πρῶτον μὲν Σιδοῦντα, ἔπειτα δὲ Κρομμυῶνα. καὶ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τείχεσι καταστήσας φρουροὺς τοὔμπαλιν ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τειχίσας Ἐπιείκειαν, ἵνα φρούριον εἴη πρὸ τῆς φιλίας τοῖς συμμάχοις, οὕτω διαφῆκε τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐπὶ Λακεδαίμονα ἀπεχώρει.

---

[1] *i.e.* the walls which connected Corinth with Lechaeum. *cp.* § 7.

shoved and struck by the enemy, and still others were trodden under foot by one another and suffocated. And the Lacedaemonians were in no uncertainty about whom they should kill; for then at least heaven granted them an achievement such as they could never even have prayed for. For to have a crowd of enemies delivered into their hands, frightened, panic-stricken, presenting their unprotected sides, no one rallying to his own defence, but all rendering all possible assistance toward their own destruction,—how could one help regarding this as a gift from heaven? On that day, at all events, so many fell within a short time that men accustomed to see heaps of corn, wood, or stones, beheld then heaps of dead bodies. Furthermore, the Boeotians of the garrison in the port were also killed, some upon the walls, and others after they had climbed up on the roofs of the ship-houses. After this the Corinthians and Argives carried off their dead under a truce, and the allies of the Lacedaemonians came to their aid. And when they were gathered together, in the first place Praxitas decided to tear down a portion of the walls[1] so as to make a passage through wide enough for an army, and secondly, putting himself at the head of his army, he advanced by the road to Megara and captured by storm, first Sidus and then Crommyon. And after stationing garrisons in these strongholds he marched back again; then he fortified Epieiceia, in order that it might serve as an outpost to protect the territory of his allies,[2] and then disbanded his army and himself withdrew by the road to Lacedaemon. 392 B.C.

[2] *i.e.* the Sicyonians.

14 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου στρατιαὶ μὲν μεγάλαι ἑκατέρων διεπέπαυντο, φρουροὺς δὲ πέμπουσαι αἱ πόλεις, αἱ μὲν εἰς Κόρινθον, αἱ δὲ εἰς Σικυῶνα, ἐφύλαττον τὰ τείχη. μισθοφόρους γε μὴν ἑκάτεροι ἔχοντες διὰ τούτων ἐρρωμένως ἐπολέμουν.

15 Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Ἰφικράτης εἰς Φλειοῦντα ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἐνεδρευσάμενος, ὀλίγοις δὲ λεηλατῶν, βοηθησάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀφυλάκτως, ἀπέκτεινε τοσούτους ὥστε καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πρόσθεν οὐ δεχόμενοι εἰς τὸ τεῖχος οἱ Φλειάσιοι, φοβούμενοι μὴ τοὺς φάσκοντας ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ φεύγειν κατάγοιεν, τότε οὕτω κατεπλάγησαν τοὺς ἐκ Κορίνθου ὥστε μετεπέμψαντό τε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττειν αὐτοῖς παρέδωκαν. οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καίπερ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντες τοῖς φυγάσιν, ὅσον χρόνον εἶχον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν, οὐδ' ἐμνήσθησαν παντάπασι περὶ καθόδου φυγάδων, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀναθαρρῆσαι ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις, ἐξῆλθον καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς νόμους παραδόντες οἷάνπερ
16 καὶ παρέλαβον. οἱ δ' αὖ περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτην πολλαχόσε καὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἐμβαλόντες ἐλεηλάτουν τε καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὰ τείχη· ἔξω γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὁπλῖται παντάπασιν οὐκ ἀντεξῇσαν· οὕτω τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπεφόβηντο. τοὺς μέντοι Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως αὖ οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐδεδίεσαν ὡς ἐντὸς ἀκοντίσματος οὐ προσῇσαν

From this time on large armies of citizens were no longer employed on either side, for the states merely sent out garrisons, the one party to Corinth, the other to Sicyon, and guarded the walls of these cities. Each side, however, had mercenaries, and with these prosecuted the war vigorously. 391 B.C.

It was at this time also that Iphicrates invaded the territory of Phlius, set an ambush, meanwhile plundering with a few followers, and when the men from the city came out against him in an unguarded way, killed so many of them that the Phliasians, although before this they had refused to receive the Lacedaemonians within their wall, from fear that the latter would bring back to the city the people who said that they were in exile on account of their Lacedaemonian sympathies, were then seized with such panic fear of the men from Corinth that they sent for the Lacedaemonians and put the city and the citadel in their hands to guard. And the Lacedaemonians, although they were well minded toward the exiles, during all the time that they held their city made not so much as the least mention of a restoration of exiles, but when the city seemed to have recovered its courage, they departed, after giving over to the Phliasians both their city and their laws unchanged, precisely as they were when they took the city in charge. Again, Iphicrates and his troops invaded many districts of Arcadia also, where they plundered and made attacks upon the walled towns; for the hoplites of the Arcadians did not come out from their walls at all to meet them; such fear they had conceived of the peltasts. But the peltasts in their turn were so afraid of the Lacedaemonians that they did not approach within a javelin's cast of the

τοῖς ὁπλίταις· ἤδη γάρ ποτε καὶ ἐκ τοσούτου διώξαντες οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἑλόντες
17 ἀπέκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν. καταφρονοῦντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν πελταστῶν, ἔτι μᾶλλον τῶν ἑαυτῶν συμμάχων κατεφρόνουν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Μαντινεῖς βοηθήσαντές ποτε ἐπ' ἐκδραμόντας πελταστὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ Λέχαιον τείνοντος τείχους, ἀκοντιζόμενοι ἐνέκλινάν τε καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες αὐτῶν φεύγοντες· ὥστε οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐπισκώπτειν ἐτόλμων ὡς οἱ σύμμαχοι φοβοῖντο τοὺς πελταστὰς ὥσπερ μορμόνας παιδάρια. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Λεχαίου ὁρμώμενοι σὺν μόρᾳ καὶ τοῖς Κορινθίων φυγάσι κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ τῶν
18 Κορινθίων ἐστρατεύοντο· οἱ δ' αὖ Ἀθηναῖοι φοβούμενοι τὴν ῥώμην τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, μὴ ἐπεὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη τῶν Κορινθίων διῄρητο, ἔλθοιεν ἐπὶ σφᾶς, ἡγήσαντο κράτιστον εἶναι ἀνατειχίσαι τὰ διῃρημένα ὑπὸ Πραξίτα τείχη. καὶ ἐλθόντες πανδημεὶ μετὰ λιθολόγων καὶ τεκτόνων τὸ μὲν πρὸς Σικυῶνος καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέρας ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πάνυ καλὸν ἐξετείχισαν, τὸ δὲ ἑῷον μᾶλλον κατὰ ἡσυχίαν ἐτείχιζον.

19 Οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐνθυμηθέντες τοὺς Ἀργείους τὰ μὲν οἴκοι καρπουμένους, ἡδομένους δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ, στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς. Ἀγησίλαος δ' ἡγεῖτο, καὶ δῃώσας πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, εὐθὺς ἐκεῖθεν ὑπερβαλὼν κατὰ Τενέαν εἰς Κόρινθον αἱρεῖ τὰ ἀνοικοδομηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν

hoplites; for it had once happened that the younger men among the Lacedaemonians, pursuing even from so great a distance as that, overtook and killed some of them. But while the Lacedaemonians felt contempt for the peltasts, they felt even greater contempt for their own allies; for once, when the Mantineans went out against peltasts who had sallied forth from the wall that extends to Lechaeum, they had given way under the javelins of the peltasts and some of them had been killed as they fled; so that the Lacedaemonians were even so unkind as to make game of their allies, saying that they feared the peltasts just as children fear hobgoblins. As for themselves, setting out from Lechaeum as a base with one regiment and the Corinthian exiles, they made expeditions all round about the city of the Corinthians; but the Athenians, on the other hand, fearing the power of the Lacedaemonians and thinking that they might come against them, now that the long walls of the Corinthians had been destroyed, decided that it was best to rebuild the walls destroyed by Praxitas. So they came with their full force, accompanied by masons and carpenters, and completed within a few days the wall toward Sicyon and the west, making a very excellent wall of it, and then went on to build the eastern wall in more leisurely fashion. 391 B.C.

The Lacedaemonians on their side, considering that the Argives were enjoying the fruits of their lands at home and taking pleasure in the war, made an expedition against them. Agesilaus was in command, and after laying waste all their territory he proceeded straight from there across the mountains by way of Tenea to Corinth and captured the walls

Ἀθηναίων τείχη. παρεγένετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδελφὸς Τελευτίας κατὰ θάλατταν, ἔχων τριήρεις περὶ δώδεκα· ὥστε μακαρίζεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν μητέρα, ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὧν ἔτεκεν ὁ μὲν κατὰ γῆν τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ νεώρια ᾕρηκε. καὶ τότε μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τό τε τῶν συμμάχων στράτευμα διῆκε καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγεν.

V. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες τῶν φευγόντων ὅτι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα μὲν τὰ βοσκήματα ἔχοιεν καὶ σῴζοιντο ἐν τῷ Πειραίῳ, πολλοὶ δὲ τρέφοιντο αὐτόθεν, στρατεύουσι πάλιν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, Ἀγησιλάου καὶ τότε ἡγουμένου. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦλθεν εἰς Ἰσθμόν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ μὴν ἐν ᾧ Ἴσθμια γίγνεται, καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι αὐτοῦ ἐτύγχανον τότε ποιοῦντες τὴν θυσίαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, ὡς Ἄργους Κορίνθου ὄντος. ὡς δ' ᾔσθοντο προσιόντα τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, καταλιπόντες καὶ τὰ τεθυμένα καὶ τὰ ἀριστοποιούμενα μάλα σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ ἀπεχώρουν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κατὰ τὴν
2 ἐπὶ Κεγχρειὰς ὁδόν. ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἐκείνους μὲν καίπερ ὁρῶν οὐκ ἐδίωκε, κατασκηνήσας δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ αὐτός τε τῷ θεῷ ἔθυε καὶ

[1] A mountainous peninsula of considerable extent on the north-western side of the isthmus of Corinth (see note 2, below). At its western extremity was the Heraeum, or temple of Hera (see § 5, below), near which was a small lake

that had been rebuilt by the Athenians. And his brother Teleutias also came to his support by sea, with about twelve triremes; so that their mother was deemed happy in that on the same day one of the sons whom she bore captured by land the walls of the enemy and the other by sea his ships and dock-yards. And at that time, after accomplishing these things, Agesilaus disbanded the army of the allies and led his citizen force back home. 391 B.C.

V. After this the Lacedaemonians, upon hearing from the Corinthian exiles that the people in the city had all their cattle in Piraeum[1] and there kept them safe, and that many were being maintained from this supply, made another expedition to the territory of Corinth, Agesilaus being in command this time also. And first he came to the Isthmus[2]; for it was the month during which the Isthmian games are celebrated, and the Argives chanced at the time to be offering the sacrifice there to Poseidon, as though Argos were Corinth. But when they learned that Agesilaus was approaching, they left behind both the victims that had been offered and the breakfast that was being made ready and retired to the city in very great fear, along the road leading to Cenchreae. Agesilaus, however, did not pursue them, even though he saw them, but encamping in the sacred precinct offered sacrifice himself to the god and 390 B.C.

(§ 6). In the north-eastern part of the peninsula was the fortress of Oenoe (§ 5).

[2] The term was used by the Greeks, not (as in the preceding note) of the entire neck of land connecting Peloponnesus with northern Greece, but only of its narrowest part, some three or four miles north-east of the city of Corinth Toward the eastern side of this Isthmus proper was the famous sanctuary of Poseidon where, every two years, the Isthmian games were celebrated.

περιέμενεν, ἕως οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κορινθίων ἐποίησαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπελθόντος Ἀγησιλάου ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν Ἴσθμια. καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει ἔστι μὲν ἃ τῶν ἄθλων δὶς ἕκαστος ἐνικήθη, ἔστι δὲ ἃ δὶς οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐκηρύχθησαν.

3 Τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦγε πρὸς τὸ Πείραιον τὸ στράτευμα. ἰδὼν δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλαττόμενον, ἀπεχώρησε μετ' ἄριστον πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, ὡς προδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως· ὥστε οἱ Κορίνθιοι δείσαντες μὴ προδιδοῖτο ὑπό τινων ἡ πόλις, μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Ἰφικράτην σὺν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν πελταστῶν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τῆς νυκτὸς παρεληλυθότας αὐτούς, ὑποστρέψας ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τὸ Πείραιον ἦγε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὰ θερμὰ προῄει, μόραν δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀνεβίβασε. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα ὁ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς θέρμαις ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, ἡ δὲ μόρα τὰ ἄκρα κατέχουσα ἐνυκτέ-
4 ρευσεν. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος μικρῷ, καιρίῳ δ' ἐνθυμήματι ηὐδοκίμησε. τῶν γὰρ τῇ μόρᾳ φερόντων τὰ σιτία οὐδενὸς πῦρ εἰσενεγκόντος, ψύχους δὲ ὄντος διά τε τὸ πάνυ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι ὕδωρ καὶ χάλαζαν πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέραν, καὶ ἀνεβεβήκεσαν δὲ ἔχοντες οἷα δὴ θέρους σπειρία, ῥιγούντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν σκότῳ ἀθύμως πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐχόντων, πέμπει ὁ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔλαττον δέκα φέροντας πῦρ ἐν χύτραις. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνέβησαν ἄλλος ἄλλῃ, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ

[1] Situated near the shore on the road leading from the Isthmus to Piraeum.

waited until the Corinthian exiles had conducted 390 B.C.
the sacrifice and the games in honour of Poseidon. But when Agesilaus had left the Isthmus, the Argives celebrated the Isthmian games all over again. In that year, accordingly, in some of the contests individual competitors were beaten twice, while in others the same competitors were twice proclaimed victors.

On the fourth day Agesilaus led his army against Piraeum. But seeing that it was guarded by many, he withdrew after breakfast in the direction of the capital, as though the city were going to be betrayed to him; so that the Corinthians, in fear that the city was to be betrayed by some one, summoned Iphicrates with the greater part of his peltasts. Agesilaus, however, upon perceiving that they had passed by during the night, turned about, and at daybreak proceeded to lead his army to Piraeum. And he himself advanced by way of the hot springs,[1] but he sent one regiment up the heights to proceed along the topmost ridge. On that night, accordingly, he was in camp at the hot springs, while the regiment bivouacked, holding possession of the heights. It was then that Agesilaus won credit by a trifling but timely expedient. For since no one among those who carried provisions for the regiment had brought fire, and it was cold, not only because they were at a high altitude, but also because there had been rain and hail towards evening—and besides, they had gone up in light clothing suitable to the summer season—and they were shivering and, in the darkness, had no heart for their dinner, Agesilaus sent up not less than ten men carrying fire in earthen pots. And when these men had climbed up by one

μεγάλα πυρὰ ἐγένετο, ἅτε πολλῆς ὕλης παρούσης,
πάντες μὲν ἠλείφοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐδείπνησαν
ἐξ ἀρχῆς. φανερὸς δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ νεὼς τοῦ
Ποσειδῶνος ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ καόμενος· ὑφ' ὅτου δ'
5 ἐνεπρήσθη οὐδεὶς οἶδεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾔσθοντο οἱ ἐν
τῷ Πειραίῳ τὰ ἄκρα ἐχόμενα, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἀμύ-
νασθαι οὐκέτι ἐτράποντο, εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἥραιον κατέ-
φυγον καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ δοῦλοι καὶ
ἐλεύθεροι καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα. καὶ
Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι παρὰ
θάλατταν ἐπορεύετο· ἡ δὲ μόρα ἅμα καταβαί-
νουσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων Οἰνόην τὸ ἐντετειχισμένον
τεῖχος αἱρεῖ καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα ἔλαβε, καὶ πάντες δὲ
οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πολλὰ τὰ
ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῶν χωρίων ἐλάμβανον. οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ
Ἡραίῳ καταπεφευγότες ἐξῇσαν, ἐπιτρέψοντες
Ἀγησιλάῳ γνῶναι ὅ τι βούλοιτο περὶ σφῶν.
ὁ δ' ἔγνω, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν σφαγέων ἦσαν, παρα-
δοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς φυγάσι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα
6 πραθῆναι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐξῄει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ
Ἡραίου πάμπολλα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα· πρεσβεῖαι
δὲ ἄλλοθέν τε πολλαὶ παρῆσαν καὶ ἐκ Βοιωτῶν
ἧκον ἐρησόμενοι τί ἂν ποιοῦντες εἰρήνης τύχοιεν.
ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος μάλα μεγαλοφρόνως τούτους
μὲν οὐδ' ὁρᾶν ἐδόκει, καίπερ Φάρακος τοῦ προ-
ξένου παρεστηκότος αὐτοῖς, ὅπως προσα-
γάγοι· καθήμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην

---

[1] See note 2, p. 323. [2] See note 1, p. 323.
[3] *cp.* iv. 2. [4] The reference is uncertain.

way and another and many large fires had been 390 B.C. made, since there was a great deal of fuel at hand, all the soldiers anointed themselves and many of them only then began their dinner. It was on this night also that the temple of Poseidon[1] was seen burning; but no one knows by whom it was set on fire. Now when the people in Piraeum perceived that the heights were occupied, they gave no further thought to defending themselves, but fled for refuge to the Heraeum,[2] men and women, slaves and freemen, and the greater part of the cattle. And Agesilaus with the army proceeded along the sea shore; while the regiment, descending at the same time from the heights, captured Oenoe,[2] the stronghold which had been fortified in Piraeum, and took possession of all that was within it, and in fact all the soldiers on that day possessed themselves of provisions in abundance from the farms. Meanwhile those who had taken refuge in the Heraeum came out, with the purpose of leaving it to Agesilaus to decide as he chose in regard to them. He decided to deliver over to the exiles all those who had had a part in the massacre,[3] and that all else should be sold. Thereupon the prisoners came forth from the Heraeum, a very great number of them, together with their property; and many embassies from various states presented themselves, while from the Boeotians in particular ambassadors had come to ask what they should do in order to obtain peace. Agesilaus, however, in a very lofty way affected not even to see these ambassadors, although Pharax, diplomatic agent for the Thebans at Lacedaemon, was standing beside them for the purpose of presenting them to him; but sitting in the circular structure[4] near the lake,[2] he

κυκλοτεροῦς οἰκοδομήματος ἐθεώρει πολλὰ τὰ ἐξαγόμενα. τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων σὺν τοῖς δόρασι παρηκολούθουν φύλακες τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, μάλα ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων θεωρούμενοι· οἱ γὰρ εὐτυχοῦντες καὶ κρατοῦντες ἀεί
7 πως ἀξιοθέατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ καθημένου Ἀγησιλάου καὶ ἐοικότος ἀγαλλομένῳ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἱππεύς τις προσήλαυνε καὶ μάλα ἰσχυρῶς ἱδρῶντι τῷ ἵππῳ. ὑπὸ πολλῶν δὲ ἐρωτώμενος ὅ τι ἀγγέλλοι, οὐδενὶ ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἦν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καθαλόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ προσδραμὼν αὐτῷ μάλα σκυθρωπὸς ὢν λέγει τὸ τῆς ἐν Λεχαίῳ μόρας πάθος. ὁ δ' ὡς ἤκουσεν, εὐθύς τε ἐκ τῆς ἕδρας ἀνεπήδησε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔλαβε καὶ πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντῆρας καὶ ξεναγοὺς καλεῖν τὸν κή-
8 ρυκα ἐκέλευεν. ὡς δὲ συνέδραμον οὗτοι, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις εἶπεν, οὐ γάρ πω ἠριστοποίηντο, ἐμφαγοῦσιν ὅ τι δύναιντο ἥκειν τὴν ταχίστην, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ δαμοσίαν ὑφηγεῖτο ἀνάριστος. καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες παρηκολούθουν σπουδῇ, τοῦ μὲν ὑφηγουμένου, τῶν δὲ μετιόντων. ἤδη δ' ἐκπεπερακότος αὐτοῦ τὰ θερμὰ εἰς τὸ πλατὺ τοῦ Λεχαίου, προσελάσαντες ἱππεῖς τρεῖς ἀγγέλλουσιν ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ἀνῃρημένοι εἴησαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἤκουσε, θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀναπαύσας, ἀπῆγε πάλιν τὸ

[1] Described in §§ 11–17, below.
[2] The tent companions of a Spartan king were the six

occupied himself in watching the great quantity of prisoners and property that was being brought out. And some Lacedaemonians from the camp followed with their spears to guard the prisoners, and were much regarded by the bystanders; for somehow men who are fortunate and victorious seem ever to be a noteworthy spectacle. But while Agesilaus was still sitting there in the attitude of a man who exulted in what had been accomplished, a horseman rode up, his horse sweating profusely. And being asked by many people what news he brought, he made no reply to anyone, but when he was near Agesilaus, he leaped down from his horse, ran up to him, and with a very gloomy face told him of the disaster[1] to the regiment stationed in Lechaeum. When Agesilaus heard this, he immediately leaped up from his seat, seized his spear, and ordered the herald to summon the commanders of regiments and of fifties and the leaders of the allies. When they came running together, he told the rest of them to follow along as quickly as possible after swallowing what they could—for they had not yet breakfasted—while he himself with his tent companions[2] went on ahead breakfastless And the spearmen of his body-guard, fully armed, accompanied him with all speed, he leading the way and his tent companions following after him. But when he had already passed the hot springs and come to the plain of Lechaeum, three horsemen rode up and reported that the bodies of the dead had been recovered. When he heard this, he gave the order to ground arms, and after resting the army for a short time, led it back again to the Heraeum; and 390 B.C.

polemarchs, or commanders of regiments, and three other Spartiatae. Xen. *de Rep. Lac.* xiii. 1.

στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὸ Ἥραιον· τῇ δʼ ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα διετίθετο.

9 Οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Βοιωτῶν προσκληθέντες καὶ ἐρωτώμενοι ὅ τι ἥκοιεν, περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης οὐκέτι ἐμέμνηντο, εἶπον δὲ ὅτι εἰ μή τι κωλύοι βούλοιντο εἰς ἄστυ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους στρατιώτας παρελθεῖν. ὁ δʼ ἐπιγελάσας· Ἀλλʼ οἶδα μέν, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἰδεῖν βούλεσθε, ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐτύχημα τῶν φίλων ὑμῶν θεάσασθαι πόσον τι γεγένηται. περιμείνατε οὖν, ἔφη· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἄξω, καὶ μᾶλλον μετʼ ἐμοῦ ὄντες

10 γνώσεσθε ποῖόν τι τὸ γεγενημένον ἐστί. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος ἦγε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ τὸ μὲν τροπαῖον οὐ κατέβαλεν, εἰ δέ τι ἦν λοιπὸν δένδρον, κόπτων καὶ κάων ἐπεδείκνυεν ὡς οὐδεὶς ἀντεξῄει. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ Λέχαιον· καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίων μέντοι πρέσβεις εἰς μὲν τὸ ἄστυ οὐκ ἀνῆκε, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ εἰς Κρεῦσιν ἀπέπεμψεν. ἅτε δὲ ἀήθους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις γεγενημένης τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς, πολὺ πένθος ἦν κατὰ τὸ Λακωνικὸν στράτευμα, πλὴν ὅσων ἐτέθνασαν ἐν χώρᾳ ἢ υἱοὶ ἢ πατέρες ἢ ἀδελφοί· οὗτοι δʼ ὥσπερ νικηφόροι λαμπροὶ καὶ ἀγαλλόμενοι τῷ οἰκείῳ πάθει περιῇσαν.

11 Ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ τῆς μόρας πάθος τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι ἀεί ποτε ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὰ Ὑακίνθια ἐπὶ τὸν παιᾶνα, ἐάν τε στρατοπεδευόμενοι

on the following day he exposed the prisoners and captured property for sale. 390 B.C.

The ambassadors of the Boeotians were now summoned and asked for what purpose they had come. They made no further mention of peace, but said that if there were nothing to hinder, they desired to pass into the city to join their own soldiers. And Agesilaus said with a laugh, "On the contrary, I know that you are not desirous of seeing your soldiers, but of beholding the good fortune of your friends, that you may see how great it has been. Wait, therefore," he said, "for I will conduct you myself, and by being with me you will find out better what manner of thing it is that has happened." And he did not belie his words, but on the next day, after offering sacrifice, he led his army to the city. He did not throw down the trophy, but by cutting down and burning any fruit-tree that was still left, he showed that no one wanted to come out against him. When he had done this, he encamped near Lechaeum; as for the ambassadors of the Thebans, although he did not let them go into the city, yet he sent them home by sea to Creusis.[1] Now inasmuch as such a calamity had been unusual with the Lacedaemonians, there was great mourning throughout the Laconian army, except among those whose sons, fathers, or brothers had fallen where they stood; they, however, went about like victors, with shining countenances and full of exultation in their own misfortune.

Now it was in the following way that the disaster to the regiment happened. The Amyclaeans invariably go back home to the festival of the Hyacinthia for the paean to Apollo, whether they chance to be on

[1] A Boeotian port on the Corinthian Gulf.

τυγχάνωσιν ἐάν τε ἄλλως πως ἀποδημοῦντες. καὶ τότε δὴ τοὺς ἐκ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀμυκλαίους κατέλιπε μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἐν Λεχαίῳ. ὁ δ' ἐκεῖ φρουρῶν πολέμαρχος τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων φρουροὺς ἔταξε φυλάττειν τὸ τεῖχος, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τῇ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν ἱππέων μόρᾳ παρὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κορινθίων τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς
12 παρῆγεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεῖχον ὅσον εἴκοσιν ἢ τριάκοντα σταδίους τοῦ Σικυῶνος, ὁ μὲν πολέμαρχος σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις οὖσιν ὡς ἑξακοσίοις ἀπῄει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον, τὸν δ' ἱππαρμοστὴν ἐκέλευσε σὺν τῇ τῶν ἱππέων μόρᾳ, ἐπεὶ προπέμψειαν τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς μέχρι ὁπόσου αὐτοὶ κελεύοιεν, μεταδιώκειν. καὶ ὅτι μὲν πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ καὶ πελτασταὶ καὶ ὁπλῖται οὐδὲν ἠγνόουν· κατεφρόνουν δὲ διὰ τὰς ἔμπροσθεν τύχας
13 μηδένα ἂν ἐπιχειρῆσαι σφίσιν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν Κορινθίων ἄστεως, Καλλίας τε ὁ Ἱππονίκου, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁπλιτῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ Ἰφικράτης, τῶν πελταστῶν ἄρχων, καθορῶντες αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ πολλοὺς ὄντας καὶ ἐρήμους καὶ πελταστῶν καὶ ἱππέων, ἐνόμισαν ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς τῷ πελταστικῷ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πορεύοιντο τῇ ὁδῷ, ἀκοντιζομένους ἂν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ ἀπόλλυσθαι· εἰ δ' ἐπιχειροῖεν διώκειν, ῥᾳδίως ἂν ἀποφυγεῖν πελτασταῖς τοῖς ἐλαφροτάτοις
14 τοὺς ὁπλίτας. γνόντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐξάγουσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Καλλίας παρέταξε τοὺς ὁπλίτας οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ Ἰφικράτης λαβὼν τοὺς πελ-

a campaign or away from home for any other reason. 390 B.C.
Accordingly Agesilaus had on this occasion left behind at Lechaeum all the Amyclaeans in the army. Now the polemarch in command of the garrison there detailed the garrison troops of the allies to guard the wall, and himself with the regiment of hoplites and the regiment of horsemen conducted the Amyclaeans along past the city of the Corinthians. And when they were distant from Sicyon about twenty or thirty stadia, the polemarch with the hoplites, who were about six hundred in number, set out to return to Lechaeum, and ordered the commander of horse to follow after him with the regiment of horsemen after they had escorted the Amyclaeans as far as they themselves directed. Now they were by no means unaware that there were many peltasts and many hoplites in Corinth; but on account of their previous successes they contemptuously thought that no one would attack them. But those in the city of the Corinthians, both Callias, the son of Hipponicus, commander of the Athenian hoplites, and Iphicrates, leader of the peltasts, when they descried the Lacedaemonians and saw that they were not only few in number, but also unaccompanied by either peltasts or cavalry, thought that it was safe to attack them with their force of peltasts. For if they should proceed along the road, they could be attacked with javelins on their unprotected side and destroyed; and if they should undertake to pursue, they with their peltasts, the nimblest of all troops, could easily escape the hoplites. Having come to this conclusion, they led forth their troops. And Callias formed his hoplites in line of battle not far from the city, while Iphicrates with his peltasts attacked the Lacedae-

ταστὰς ἐπέθετο τῇ μόρᾳ. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἠκοντίζοντο καὶ ὁ μέν τις ἐτέτρωτο, ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐπεπτώκει, τούτους μὲν ἐκέλευον τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς ἀραμένους ἀποφέρειν εἰς Λέχαιον· καὶ οὗτοι μόνοι τῆς μόρας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐσώθησαν· ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης ἀπο-
15 διῶξαι τοὺς προσκειμένους.[1] ὡς δὲ ἐδίωκον, ᾕρουν τε οὐδένα ἐξ ἀκοντίου βολῆς ὁπλῖται ὄντες πελταστάς· καὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε, πρὶν τοὺς ὁπλίτας ὁμοῦ γίγνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρουν ἐσπαρμένοι, ἅτε διώξαντες ὡς τάχους ἕκαστος εἶχεν, ἀναστρέφοντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτη, οἵ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πάλιν ἠκόντιζον καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ πλαγίου παραθέοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνά. καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διώξει κατηκόντιζον ἐννέα ἢ δέκα αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολὺ
16 ἤδη θρασύτερον ἐπέκειντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ κακῶς ἔπασχον, πάλιν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ πολέμαρχος διώκειν τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἥβης. ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ ἔτι πλείους αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ πρῶτον ἔπεσον. ἤδη δὲ τῶν βελτίστων ἀπολωλότων, οἱ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῖς παραγίγνονται καὶ σὺν τούτοις αὖθις δίωξιν ἐποιήσαντο. ὡς δ' ἐνέκλιναν οἱ πελτασταί, ἐν τούτῳ κακῶς οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐπέθεντο· οὐ γὰρ ἕως ἀπέκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν ἐδίωξαν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς ἐκδρόμοις

[1] *προσκειμένους* Dobrée: *προειρημένους* Kel. with MSS.

---

[1] Slaves who carried the shields of the hoplites.

monian regiment. Now when the Lacedaemonians were being attacked with javelins, and several men had been wounded and several others slain, they directed the shield-bearers[1] to take up these wounded men and carry them back to Lechaeum; and these were the only men in the regiment who were really saved.[2] Then the polemarch ordered the first ten year-classes[3] to drive off their assailants. But when they pursued, they caught no one, since they were hoplites pursuing peltasts at the distance of a javelin's cast; for Iphicrates had given orders to the peltasts to retire before the hoplites got near them; and further, when the Lacedaemonians were retiring from the pursuit, being scattered because each man had pursued as swiftly as he could, the troops of Iphicrates turned about, and not only did those in front again hurl javelins upon the Lacedaemonians, but also others on the flank, running along to reach their unprotected side. Indeed, at the very first pursuit the peltasts shot down nine or ten of them. And as soon as this happened, they began to press the attack much more boldly. Then, as the Lacedaemonians continued to suffer losses, the polemarch again ordered the first fifteen year-classes to pursue. But when these fell back, even more of them were shot down than at the first retirement. And now that the best men had already been killed, the horsemen joined them, and with the horsemen they again undertook a pursuit. But when the peltasts turned to flight, at that moment the horsemen managed their attack badly; for they did not chase the enemy until they had killed some of them, but both in 390 B.C.

[2] *i.e.* saved both in life and in honour.
[3] See note on II. iv. 32.

ἰσομέτωποι καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐπέστρεφον. ποιοῦντες δὲ καὶ πάσχοντες τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις καὶ αὖθις, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀεὶ ἐλάττους τε καὶ μαλακώτεροι ἐγίγνοντο, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι θρασύτεροί τε καὶ ἀεὶ
17 πλείους οἱ ἐγχειροῦντες. ἀποροῦντες δὴ συνίστανται ἐπὶ βραχύν τινα γήλοφον, ἀπέχοντα τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ὡς δύο στάδια, τοῦ δὲ Λεχαίου ὡς ἓξ ἢ ἑπτακαίδεκα στάδια. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεχαίου, εἰσβάντες εἰς πλοιάρια παρέπλεον, ἕως ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὸν γήλοφον. οἱ δ' ἀποροῦντες ἤδη, ὅτι ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς καὶ ἀπέθνῃσκον, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ὁρῶντες καὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἐπιόντας, ἐγκλίνουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐμπίπτουσιν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων εἰς Λέχαιον ἐσώθησαν. ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τῇ φυγῇ ἀπέθανον
18 περὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὴν μὲν σφαλεῖσαν μόραν ἔχων ἀπῄει, ἄλλην δὲ κατέλιπεν ἐν τῷ Λεχαίῳ. διιὼν δὲ ἐπ' οἴκου ὡς μὲν ἐδύνατο ὀψιαίτατα κατήγετο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὡς δ' ἐδύνατο πρῳαίτατα ἐξωρμᾶτο. παρὰ δὲ Μαντίνειαν ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ ὄρθρου ἀναστὰς ἔτι σκοταῖος παρῆλθεν. οὕτω χαλεπῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν οἱ στρατιῶται τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐφηδομένους τῷ δυστυχήματι
19 θεάσασθαι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ μάλα καὶ τἆλλα ἐπετύγχανεν Ἰφικράτης. καθεστηκότων γὰρ φρουρῶν ἐν Σιδοῦντι μὲν καὶ Κρομμυῶνι ὑπὸ Πρα-

the pursuit and in the turning backward kept an even front with the hoplites. And what with striving and suffering in this way again and again, the Lacedaemonians themselves kept continually becoming fewer and fainter of heart, while their enemies were becoming bolder, and those who attacked them continually more numerous. Therefore in desperation they gathered together on a small hill, distant from the sea about two stadia, and from Lechaeum about sixteen or seventeen stadia. And the men in Lechaeum, upon perceiving them, embarked in small boats and coasted along until they came opposite the hill. Then the troops, being now desperate, because they were suffering and being slain, while unable to inflict any harm themselves, and, besides this, seeing the Athenian hoplites also coming against them, took to flight. And some of them plunged into the sea, and some few made their escape with the horsemen to Lechaeum. But in all the battles and in the flight about two hundred and fifty of them were killed. Thus it was that these events took place. 390 B.C.

After this Agesilaus departed with the defeated regiment, and left another behind him in Lechaeum. And as he passed along homeward, he led his troops into the cities as late in the day as he could and set out again in the morning as early as he could. When he approached Mantinea,[1] by leaving Orchomenus before dawn he passed by that city while it was still dark: so hard, he thought, would the soldiers find it to see the Mantineans rejoicing at their misfortune. After this, Iphicrates was very successful in his other undertakings also. For although garrisons had been stationed in Sidus and Crommyon by Praxitas

[1] *cp.* iv. 17.

ξίτου, ὅτε ἐκεῖνος εἷλε ταῦτα τὰ τείχη, ἐν Οἰνόῃ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀγησιλάου, ὅτεπερ τὸ Πείραιον ἑάλω, πάνθ' εἷλε ταῦτα τὰ χωρία. τὸ μέντοι Λέχαιον ἐφρούρουν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι. οἱ φυγάδες δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων, οὐκέτι πεζῇ παριόντες ἐκ Σικυῶνος διὰ τὴν τῆς μόρας δυστυχίαν, ἀλλὰ παραπλέοντες εἰς Λέχαιον[1] καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι, πράγματα εἶχόν τε καὶ παρεῖχον τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἄστει.

VI. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔχοντες Καλυδῶνα, ἣ τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰτωλίας ἦν, καὶ πολίτας πεποιημένοι τοὺς Καλυδωνίους, φρουρεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο ἐν αὐτῇ. οἱ γὰρ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐπεστράτευον, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν συμπαρῆσάν τινες αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ συμμάχους εἶναι. πιεζόμενοι οὖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ πρέσβεις πέμπουσιν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐ δίκαια πάσχοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.
2 Ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφασαν, ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅπως ἂν ὑμεῖς παραγγέλλητε συστρατευόμεθα καὶ ἑπόμεθα ὅποι ἂν ἡγῆσθε· ὑμεῖς δὲ πολιορκουμένων ἡμῶν ὑπὸ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθε. οὐκ ἂν οὖν δυναίμεθα ἡμεῖς τούτων οὕτω γιγνομένων ἀντέχειν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐάσαντες τὸν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεμον διαβάντες πάντες πολεμήσομεν Ἀκαρνᾶσί τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις αὐτῶν, ἢ εἰρήνην ποιησόμεθα ὁποίαν ἄν τινα δυνώμεθα.
3 ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγον ὑπαπειλοῦντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῆς συμμαχίας, εἰ μὴ

[1] εἰς Λέχαιον inserted by Kel., following van Herwerden.

when he captured these strongholds, and in Oenoe 390 B.C.
by Agesilaus at the time when Piraeum was taken, Iphicrates captured all these places. In Lechaeum, however, the Lacedaemonians and their allies maintained their garrison. And the Corinthian exiles, no longer proceeding by land from Sicyon past Corinth, on account of the disaster to the regiment, but sailing along the coast to Lechaeum and sallying forth from there, caused annoyance to the people in the city even as they suffered annoyance themselves.

VI. After this the Achaeans, who were in posses- 389 B.C.
sion of Calydon—in ancient times an Aetolian town—and had made the people of Calydon Achaean citizens, were compelled to keep a garrison there. For the Acarnanians made an expedition against the city, and some of the Athenians and Boeotians joined with them, because the Acarnanians were their allies. Therefore, being hard pressed by them, the Achaeans sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon. And upon reaching there the ambassadors said that they were not receiving fair treatment from the Lacedaemonians. "For, gentlemen," they said, "we serve with you howsoever you direct and follow whithersoever you lead; but now that we are besieged by the Acarnanians and their allies, the Athenians and Boeotians, you take no thought for us. Now we cannot hold out if these things go on in this way, but either we shall abandon the war in Peloponnesus and all of us cross over and make war against the Acarnanians and their allies, or else we shall make peace on whatever terms we can." Now they said this by way of covertly threatening to withdraw from their alliance with the Lacedaemonians

αὐτοῖς ἀντεπικουρήσουσι.[1] τούτων δὲ λεγομένων ἔδοξε τοῖς τ᾽ ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας. καὶ ἐκπέμπουσιν Ἀγησίλαον, δύο μόρας ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ μέρος. οἱ
4 μέντοι Ἀχαιοὶ πανδημεὶ συνεστρατεύοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, πάντες μὲν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ ἄστη, πάντα δὲ τὰ βοσκήματα ἀπεχώρησε πόρρω, ὅπως μὴ ἁλίσκηται ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ὁ δ᾽ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπειδὴ ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς πολεμίας, πέμψας εἰς Στράτον πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων εἶπεν ὡς, εἰ μὴ παυσάμενοι τῆς πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Ἀθηναίους συμμαχίας ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς[2] συμμάχους αἱρήσονται, δῃώσει πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐφεξῆς καὶ παρα-
5 λείψει οὐδέν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, οὕτως ἐποίει, καὶ κόπτων συνεχῶς τὴν χώραν οὐ προῄει πλέον τῆς ἡμέρας ἢ δέκα ἢ δώδεκα σταδίων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀκαρνᾶνες, ἡγησάμενοι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διὰ τὴν βραδυτῆτα τοῦ στρατεύματος, τά τε βοσκήματα κατεβίβαζον ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ τῆς
6 χώρας τὰ πλεῖστα εἰργάζοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκουν τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ πάνυ ἤδη θαρρεῖν, ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ ἢ ἕκτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ ἀφ᾽ ἧς εἰσέβαλε, θυσάμενος πρῲ διεπορεύθη πρὸ δείλης ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην περὶ ἣν τὰ βοσκήματα τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων σχεδὸν πάντα ἦν, καὶ ἔλαβε παμπληθῆ καὶ βουκόλια καὶ ἱπποφόρβια καὶ

[1] ταῦτα . . . ἀντεπικουρήσουσι MSS.: Kel. brackets.
[2] Ἀχαιοὺς inserted by Kel., following Simon.

unless the latter should help them in return. In view 389 B.C. of this statement, it seemed to the ephors and the assembly that it was necessary to undertake a campaign with the Achaeans against the Acarnanians. And they sent out Agesilaus, with two Lacedaemonian regiments and the corresponding contingent of the allies. The Achaeans, however, joined in the campaign with their entire force. Now when Agesilaus crossed over, all the Acarnanians of the country districts fled to the walled towns, and all their cattle were driven off to remote parts to prevent their being captured by the army. But when Agesilaus arrived at the borders of the enemy's country, he sent to the general assembly of the Acarnanians at Stratus and said that unless they discontinued their alliance with the Boeotians and Athenians and chose his people and the Achaeans as allies, he would lay waste their whole territory, one portion after another, and would not spare any portion of it. Then, upon their refusing to obey him, he proceeded to do so, continually devastating the land as he went and hence advancing not more than ten or twelve stadia a day. The Acarnanians, therefore, deeming it safe on account of the slow progress of the army, brought down their cattle from the mountains and continued to till the greater part of their land. But when it seemed to Agesilaus that they were now very bold, on the fifteenth or sixteenth day from the time when he entered the country, he offered sacrifice in the morning and accomplished before evening a march of one hundred and sixty stadia to the lake on whose banks were almost all the cattle of the Acarnanians, and he captured herds of cattle and droves of horses in large numbers besides

ἄλλα παντοδαπὰ βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα πολλά. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπι-
7 οῦσαν ἡμέραν διεπώλει τὰ αἰχμάλωτα. τῶν μέντοι Ἀκαρνάνων πολλοὶ πελτασταὶ ἦλθον, καὶ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει σκηνοῦντος τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου βάλλοντες καὶ σφενδονῶντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρωνυχίας τοῦ ὄρους ἔπασχον μὲν οὐδέν, κατεβίβασαν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὁμαλὲς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καίπερ ἤδη περὶ δεῖπνον παρασκευαζόμενον. εἰς δὲ τὴν νύκτα οἱ μὲν Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐκάθευδον.

8 Τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπῆγεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἡ ἔξοδος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην λειμῶνός τε καὶ πεδίου στενὴ διὰ τὰ κύκλῳ περιέχοντα ὄρη· καταλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων ἔβαλλόν τε καὶ ἠκόντιζον, καὶ ὑποκαταβαίνοντες εἰς τὰ κράσπεδα τῶν ὀρῶν προσέκειντο καὶ πράγματα παρεῖχον, ὥστε οὐκέτι ἐδύ-
9 νατο τὸ στράτευμα πορεύεσθαι. ἐπιδιώκοντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος οἵ τε ὁπλῖται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους οὐδὲν ἔβλαπτον· ταχὺ γὰρ ἦσαν, ὁπότε ἀποχωροῖεν, πρὸς τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες. χαλεπὸν δ᾽ ἡγησάμενος ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τοῦ στενοπόρου ἐξελθεῖν ταῦτα πάσχοντας, ἔγνω διώκειν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύμων προσκειμένους, μάλα πολλοὺς ὄντας· εὐβατώτερον γὰρ ἦν
10 τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος καὶ ὁπλίταις καὶ ἵπποις. καὶ ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἐσφαγιάζετο, μάλα κατεῖχον βάλλοντες

all sorts of other stock and great numbers of slaves. 389 B.C.
And after effecting this capture and remaining there through the ensuing day, he made public sale of the booty. Now, however, many peltasts of the Acarnanians came up, and, inasmuch as Agesilaus was encamped on the mountain-side, by throwing stones and discharging their slings from the ridge of the mountain they succeeded, without suffering any harm themselves, in forcing the army to descend to the plain, even though the men were already making preparations for dinner. But at night the Acarnanians departed, and the troops posted sentinels and lay down to rest.

On the next day Agesilaus undertook to lead his army away. Now the road which led out from the meadow and plain surrounding the lake was narrow on account of the mountains which encircled it round; and the Acarnanians, taking possession of these mountains, threw stones and javelins upon the Lacedaemonians from the heights upon their right, and descending gradually to the spurs of the mountains pressed the attack and caused trouble to such an extent that the army was no longer able to proceed. And when the hoplites and the horsemen left the phalanx and pursued their assailants, they could never do them any harm; for when the Acarnanians fell back, they were speedily in safe places. Then Agesilaus, thinking it a difficult matter for his troops to go out through the narrow pass under these attacks, decided to pursue the men who were attacking them on the left, very many in number; for the mountain on this side was more accessible both for hoplites and horses. Now while he was sacrificing, the Acarnanians pressed them

καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες, καὶ ἐγγὺς προσι-
όντες πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήγγειλεν,
ἔθει μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ'
ἥβης, ἤλαυνον δὲ οἱ ἱππεῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς
11 ἄλλοις ἠκολούθει. οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑποκαταβεβηκότες
τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ ἀκροβολιζόμενοι ταχὺ ἐνέ-
κλιναν καὶ ἀπέθνῃσκον φεύγοντες πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες·
ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῦ ἀκροτάτου οἱ ὁπλῖται ἦσαν τῶν
Ἀκαρνάνων παρατεταγμένοι καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν
τὸ πολύ, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπέμενον, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα
βέλη ἠφίεσαν καὶ τοῖς δόρασιν ἐξακοντίζοντες
ἱππέας τε κατέτρωσαν καὶ ἵππους τινὰς ἀπέ-
κτειναν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι μικροῦ ἔδεον ἤδη ἐν χερσὶ
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὁπλιτῶν εἶναι, ἐνέκλιναν,
καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ
12 τριακοσίους. τούτων δὲ γενομένων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος
τροπαῖον ἐστήσατο. καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου περιιὼν
κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἔκοπτε καὶ ἔκαε· πρὸς ἐνίας δὲ
τῶν πόλεων καὶ προσέβαλλεν, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
ἀναγκαζόμενος, οὐ μὴν εἷλέ γε οὐδεμίαν. ἡνίκα
δὲ ἤδη ἐπεγίγνετο τὸ μετόπωρον, ἀπῄει ἐκ τῆς
χώρας.

13 Οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ πεποιηκέναι τε οὐδὲν ἐνόμιζον
αὐτόν, ὅτι πόλιν οὐδεμίαν προσειλήφει οὔτε
ἑκοῦσαν οὔτε ἄκουσαν, ἐδέοντό τε, εἰ μή τι
ἄλλο, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτόν γε χρόνον καταμεῖναι
αὐτόν, ἕως ἂν τὸν σπορητὸν διακωλύσῃ τοῖς
Ἀκαρνᾶσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι τὰ ἐναντία
λέγοιεν τοῦ συμφέροντος. Ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ἔφη,
στρατεύσομαι πάλιν δεῦρο εἰς τὸ ἐπιὸν θέρος·
οὗτοι δὲ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω σπείρωσι, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον
14 τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσουσι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν

very hard with throwing stones and javelins, and coming close up to them wounded many. But when he gave the word, the first fifteen year-classes of the hoplites ran forth, the horsemen charged, and he himself with the other troops followed. Then those among the Acarnanians who had come down the mountains and were throwing missiles quickly gave way and, as they tried to escape uphill, were killed one after another; on the summit, however, were the hoplites of the Acarnanians, drawn up in line of battle, and the greater part of the peltasts, and there they stood firm, and not only discharged their other missiles, but by hurling their spears struck down horsemen and killed some horses. But when they were now almost at close quarters with the Lacedaemonian hoplites, they gave way, and there fell on that day about three hundred of them. When these things had taken place, Agesilaus set up a trophy. And afterwards, going about through the country, he laid it waste with axe and fire; he also made assaults upon some of the cities, being compelled by the Achaeans to do so, but did not capture any one of them. And when at length autumn was coming on, he set about departing from the country. 389 B.C.

The Achaeans, however, thought that he had accomplished nothing because he had gained possession of no city, with or without its consent, and they begged him, even if he did nothing else, at least to stay long enough to prevent the Acarnanians from sowing their seed. He replied that what they were proposing was the opposite of the advantageous course. "For," he said, "I shall again lead an expedition hither next summer; and the more these people sow, the more they will desire peace."

ἀπῄει πεζῇ δι' Αἰτωλίας τοιαύτας ὁδοὺς ἃς οὔτε πολλοὶ οὔτε ὀλίγοι δύναιντ' ἂν ἀκόντων Αἰτωλῶν πορεύεσθαι· ἐκεῖνον μέντοι εἴασαν διελθεῖν· ἤλπιζον γὰρ Ναύπακτον αὐτοῖς συμπράξειν ὥστ' ἀπολαβεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ Ῥίον, ταύτῃ διαβὰς οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθε· καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος ἔκπλουν εἰς Πελοπόννησον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκώλυον τριήρεσιν ὁρμώμενοι ἐξ Οἰνιαδῶν.

VII. Παρελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἦρος πάλιν φρουρὰν ἔφαινεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας. οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοι, καὶ νομίσαντες διὰ τὸ ἐν μεσογείᾳ σφίσι τὰς πόλεις εἶναι ὁμοίως ἂν πολιορκεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τὸν σῖτον φθειρόντων ὥσπερ εἰ περιεστρατοπεδευμένοι πολιορκοῖντο, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, καὶ εἰρήνην μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιούς, συμμαχίαν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας οὕτω διεπέπρακτο.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸ μὲν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ἢ ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς στρατεύειν οὐκ ἐδόκει ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ὄπισθεν καταλιπόντας ὅμορον τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πολεμίαν καὶ οὕτω μεγάλην τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλιν, εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἄργος φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι εἴη αὐτῷ ἡγητέον τῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια θυομένῳ ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ χρηστηριαζό-

[1] Hence, instead of crossing directly from Calydon, the army was compelled to proceed a long distance to the east-

Having said this, he departed overland through 389 B.C.
Aetolia by such roads as neither many nor few could traverse against the will of the Aetolians; they allowed him, however, to pass through; for they hoped that he would aid them to recover Naupactus. And when he reached the point opposite Rhium, he crossed over at that point and returned home; for the Athenians barred the passage from Calydon to Peloponnesus[1] with their triremes, using Oeniadae as a base.

VII. When the winter had passed, at the very 388 B.C.
beginning of spring Agesilaus again called out the ban against the Acarnanians, in accordance with his promise to the Achaeans. But the Acarnanians, learning of this and thinking that inasmuch as their cities were in the interior they would be just as truly besieged by the people who destroyed their corn as if they were besieged by an army encamped around them, sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon and concluded peace with the Achaeans and an alliance with the Lacedaemonians. Thus ended the affair of the Acarnanians.

After this it seemed to the Lacedaemonians that it was not safe for them to undertake a campaign against the Athenians or against the Boeotians while leaving in their rear a hostile state bordering upon Lacedaemon and one so large as that of the Argives; they accordingly called out the ban against Argos. Now when Agesipolis learned that he was to lead the ban, and when the sacrifices which he offered at the frontier proved favourable, he went to Olympia

ward, through difficult country (see above), to reach the Strait of Rhium.

μενος ἐπηρώτα τὸν θεὸν εἰ ὁσίως ἂν ἔχοι αὐτῷ μὴ δεχομένῳ τὰς σπονδὰς τῶν Ἀργείων, ὅτι οὐχ ὁπότε καθήκοι ὁ χρόνος, ἀλλ' ὁπότε ἐμβάλλειν μέλλοιεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τότε ὑπέφερον τοὺς μῆνας. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπεσήμαινεν αὐτῷ ὅσιον εἶναι μὴ δεχομένῳ σπονδὰς ἀδίκως ὑποφερομένας. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς πορευθεὶς εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπήρετο αὖ τὸν Ἀπόλλω εἰ κἀκείνῳ δοκοίη περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν καθάπερ τῷ πατρί. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ μάλα
3 κατὰ ταὐτά. καὶ οὕτω δὴ Ἀγησίπολις ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ Φλειοῦντος τὸ στράτευμα, ἐκεῖσε γὰρ αὐτῷ συνελέγετο, ἕως πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ ἀπεδήμει, ἐνέβαλε διὰ Νεμέας. οἱ δ' Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν οὐ δυνησόμενοι κωλύειν, ἔπεμψαν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἐστεφανωμένους δύο κήρυκας ὑποφέροντας σπονδάς. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις, ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι οὐ δοκοῖεν τοῖς θεοῖς δικαίως ὑποφέρειν, οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὰς σπονδάς, ἀλλ' ἐνέβαλε καὶ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ ἔκπληξιν κατά τε τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐποίησε.

4 Δειπνοποιουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀργείᾳ τῇ πρώτῃ ἑσπέρᾳ, καὶ σπονδῶν τῶν μετὰ δεῖπνον ἤδη γενομένων, ἔσεισεν ὁ θεός. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀρξαμένων τῶν ἀπὸ δαμοσίας πάντες ὕμνησαν τὸν περὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶ παιᾶνα· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ᾤοντο ἀπιέναι, ὅτι

[1] The calendars of different Greek states varied so much that sharp practice of the sort here alleged, *i.e.* shifting the times of religious festivals to meet an emergency, was not difficult or unusual. *cp.* ii. 16 and Thuc. v. 54.

and consulted the oracle of the god, asking whether it would be consistent with piety if he did not acknowledge the holy truce claimed by the Argives; for, he urged, it was not when the appointed time came, but when the Lacedaemonians were about to invade their territory, that they pleaded the sacred months.[1] And the god signified to him that it was consistent with piety for him not to acknowledge a holy truce which was pleaded unjustly. Then Agesipolis proceeded straight from there to Delphi and asked Apollo in his turn whether he also held the same opinion as his father Zeus in regard to the truce. And Apollo answered that he did hold quite the same opinion. Under these circumstances Agesipolis led forth his army from Phlius—for it had been assembling for him there while he was away visiting the holy places—and entered the territory of Argos by way of Nemea. And when the Argives realized that they would not be able to hinder the invasion, they sent, as they were wont to do, two heralds, garlanded, pleading a holy truce. But Agesipolis in reply said that the gods did not think they were making this plea justly, and so he refused to acknowledge the truce, but advanced into their territory and caused great distress and terror both in the country and in the city. 388 B.C.

Now while he was at dinner in the land of the Argives, on the first evening of his stay there, and when the after-dinner libations had just been made, the god sent an earthquake; and all the Lacedaemonians, those in the royal tent taking the lead, struck up the paean to Poseidon[2]; and the rest of the soldiers expected to retire from the country,

[2] To whom earthquakes were ascribed by the Greeks.

καὶ Ἆγις σεισμοῦ ποτε γενομένου ἀπήγαγεν
ἐξ Ἤλιδος. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις εἶπεν ὅτι εἰ μὲν
μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμβάλλειν σείσειε, κωλύειν ἂν
αὐτὸν ἡγεῖτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐμβεβληκότος, ἐπικελεύειν
5 νομίζει· καὶ οὕτω τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος τῷ
Ποσειδῶνι ἡγεῖτο αὖ πόρρω εἰς τὴν χώραν. ἅτε
δὲ νεωστὶ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου ἐστρατευμένου εἰς τὸ
Ἄργος, πυνθανόμενος ὁ Ἀγησίπολις τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν μέχρι μὲν ποῖ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἤγαγεν ὁ
Ἀγησίλαος, μέχρι δὲ ποῖ τὴν χώραν ἐδῄωσεν,
ὥσπερ πένταθλος πάντῃ ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ὑπερβάλ-
6 λειν ἐπειρᾶτο. καὶ ἤδη μέν ποτε βαλλόμενος
ἀπὸ τῶν τύρσεων τὰς περὶ τὸ τεῖχος τάφρους
πάλιν διέβη· ἦν δ' ὅτε οἰχομένων τῶν πλείστων
Ἀργείων εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν οὕτως ἐγγὺς πυλῶν
προσῆλθεν ὥστε οἱ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ὄντες τῶν
Ἀργείων ἀπέκλεισαν τοὺς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἱππέας
εἰσελθεῖν βουλομένους, δείσαντες μὴ συνεισ-
πέσοιεν κατὰ τὰς πύλας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ὥστ'
ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ ἱππεῖς ὥσπερ νυκτερίδες πρὸς
τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι προσαραρέναι.
καὶ εἰ μὴ ἔτυχον τότε οἱ Κρῆτες εἰς Ναυπλίαν
καταδεδραμηκότες, πολλοὶ ἂν καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ ἵπ-
7 ποι κατετοξεύθησαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου περὶ τὰς εἱρκ-
τὰς στρατοπεδευομένου αὐτοῦ πίπτει κεραυνὸς
εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μέν τινες πληγέντες,
οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐμβροντηθέντες ἀπέθανον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου
βουλόμενος τειχίσαι φρούριόν τι ἐπὶ ταῖς παρὰ

because Agis likewise, on an occasion when an earthquake took place, had withdrawn his army from Elis.[1] But Agesipolis said that if the god had sent an earthquake when he was about to invade, he should have thought that he was forbidding the invasion; but since he sent it after he had invaded, he believed that he was urging him on; accordingly, on the next day, after offering sacrifices to Poseidon, he again led on his forces, advancing far into the country. And inasmuch as Agesilaus had lately made an expedition into Argos, Agesipolis, finding out from the soldiers how far Agesilaus had led his army in the direction of the wall, and how far he had laid waste the land, endeavoured, like an athlete in the pentathlum, to go beyond him at every point. On one occasion it was only when he was being pelted with missiles from the towers that he recrossed the trenches around the city wall; and once, when most of the Argives were away in Laconia, he approached so near the gates that the Argives who were at the gates shut out the horsemen of the Boeotians who wanted to enter, through fear that the Lacedaemonians would rush in at the gates along with them; so that the horsemen were compelled to cling, like bats, tight to the walls beneath the battlements. And if it had not chanced that the Cretans were off on a plundering expedition to Nauplia at that time, many men and horses would have been shot down by their arrows. After this, while Agesipolis was encamping near the enclosed space,[2] a thunderbolt fell into his camp; and some men were killed by being struck, others by the shock. After this, desiring to fortify a garrison post at the entrance to 388 B.C.

[1] *cp.* III. ii. 24. [2] The reference is unknown.

Κηλοῦσαν ἐμβολαῖς, ἐθύετο· καὶ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ τὰ ἱερὰ ἄλοβα. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ἀπήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ διέλυσε, μάλα πολλὰ βλάψας τοὺς Ἀργείους, ἅτε ἀπροσδοκήτως αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλών.

VIII. Καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ γῆν πόλεμος οὕτως ἐπολεμεῖτο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν αὖ καὶ τὰς πρὸς θαλάττῃ πόλεις γενόμενα διηγήσομαι, καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς μὲν ἀξιομνημονεύτους γράψω, τὰς δὲ μὴ ἀξίας λόγου παρήσω. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν Φαρνάβαζος καὶ Κόνων, ἐπεὶ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, περιπλέοντες καὶ τὰς νήσους καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθαλαττιδίας πόλεις τούς τε Λακωνικοὺς ἁρμοστὰς ἐξήλαυνον καὶ παρεμυθοῦντο τὰς πόλεις ὡς οὔτε ἀκροπόλεις ἐντειχίσοιεν ἐάσοιέν τε
2 αὐτονόμους. οἱ δ' ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἥδοντό τε καὶ ἐπῄνουν καὶ ξένια προθύμως ἔπεμπον τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κόνων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐδίδασκεν ὡς οὕτω μὲν ποιοῦντι πᾶσαι αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις φίλιαι ἔσοιντο, εἰ δὲ δουλοῦσθαι βουλόμενος φανερὸς ἔσοιτο, ἔλεγεν ὡς μία ἑκάστη πολλὰ πράγματα ἱκανὴ εἴη παρέχειν καὶ κίνδυνος εἴη μὴ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἰ ταῦτα αἴσθοιντο,
3 συσταῖεν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπείθετο ὁ Φαρνάβαζος. ἀποβὰς δ' εἰς Ἔφεσον τῷ μὲν Κόνωνι δοὺς τετταράκοντα τριήρεις εἰς Σηστὸν εἶπεν ἀπαντᾶν, αὐτὸς δὲ πεζῇ παρῄει ἐπὶ τὴν αὑτοῦ ἀρχήν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Δερκυλίδας, ὅσπερ καὶ πάλαι πολέμιος ἦν

the Argive country which leads past Mount Celusa, 388 B.C. he offered sacrifice; and the livers of the victims were found to be lacking a lobe. When this happened, he led his army away and disbanded it, having inflicted very great harm upon the Argives because he had invaded their land unexpectedly.

VIII. As for the war by land, it was being waged in the manner described. I will now recount what happened by sea and in the cities on the coast while all these things were going on, and will describe such of the events as are worthy of record, while those which do not deserve mention I will pass over. In the first place, then, Pharnabazus and Conon, after defeating the Lacedaemonians in the naval battle,[1] made 394 B.C. a tour of the islands and the cities on the sea coast, drove out the Laconian governors, and encouraged the cities by saying that they would not establish fortified citadels within their walls and would leave them independent. And the people of the cities received this announcement with joy and approval, and enthusiastically sent gifts of friendship to Pharnabazus. Conon, it seems, was advising Pharnabazus that if he acted in this way, all the cities would be friendly to him, but if it should be evident that he wanted to enslave them, he said that each single city was capable of making a great deal of trouble and that there was danger that the people of Greece also, if they learned of this, would become united. Pharnabazus was accordingly accepting this counsel. Then, disembarking at Ephesus, he gave Conon forty triremes and told him to meet him at Sestus, while he himself proceeded by land along the coast to his own province. For Dercylidas, who had long been

[1] *cp.* iii. 10 f.

αὐτῷ, ἔτυχεν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὤν, ὅτε ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἁρμοσταὶ ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ κατέσχε τὴν Ἄβυδον καὶ διέσῳζε φίλην τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. καὶ γὰρ συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

Ὦ ἄνδρες, νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν καὶ πρόσθεν φίλοις οὖσι τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν εὐεργέτας φανῆναι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· ὅταν δέ τινες ἐν συμφοραῖς γενομένων φίλων βέβαιοι φανῶσι, τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονεύεται. ἔστι δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχον ὡς εἰ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκρατήθημεν, οὐδὲν ἄρα ἔτι ἐσμέν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πρόσθεν δήπου, Ἀθηναίων ἀρχόντων τῆς θαλάττης, ἱκανὴ ἦν ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις καὶ εὖ φίλους καὶ κακῶς ἐχθροὺς ποιεῖν. ὅσῳ δὲ μᾶλλον αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις σὺν τῇ τύχῃ ἀπεστράφησαν ἡμῶν, τοσούτῳ ὄντως ἡ ὑμετέρα πιστότης μείζων φανείη ἄν. εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο φοβεῖται, μὴ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐνθάδε πολιορκώμεθα, ἐννοείτω ὅτι Ἑλληνικὸν μὲν οὔπω ναυτικόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι εἰ ἐπιχειρήσουσι τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἀνέξεται ταῦτα ἡ Ἑλλάς· ὥσθ' ἑαυτῇ ἐπικουροῦσα καὶ ὑμῖν σύμμαχος γενήσεται.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκόντως ἀλλὰ προθύμως ἐπείσθησαν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἰόντας ἁρμοστὰς φίλως ἐδέχοντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀπόντας μετεπέμ-

---

[1] *cp.* III. i. 9. [2] *i.e.* in flight from their several towns.

an enemy of his,[1] chanced to be in Abydus at the time when the naval battle took place, and he did not, like the other Lacedaemonian governors, quit the city, but took possession of Abydus and was keeping it friendly to the Lacedaemonians. For he called together the people of the town and spoke as follows: 394 B.C.

"Gentlemen, at this moment it is possible for you, who even in former days have been friends of our state, to show yourselves benefactors of the Lacedaemonians. For showing loyalty in the midst of prosperity calls for no particular admiration, but always, if men show themselves steadfast when friends have fallen upon misfortunes, this is remembered for all time. Do not suppose that just because we have been defeated in the naval battle, we are therefore ever afterward to be counted for naught. Nay, even in former times, you recall, when the Athenians were rulers of the sea, our state was able both to confer benefit upon friends and to inflict harm upon enemies. And the greater the extent to which the other cities have, along with fortune, turned away from us, by so much the greater in reality would your fidelity be made manifest. But if anyone is afraid that we may be besieged here both by land and by sea, let him reflect that there is not yet a Greek fleet on the sea, and if the barbarians shall undertake to rule the sea, Greece will not tolerate this; so that in helping herself she will also become your ally."

Upon hearing these words, the Abydenes yielded compliance, not unwillingly, but with enthusiasm, and they received kindly the Lacedaemonian governors who came to Abydus[2] and sent for those who were

πουτο. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας, ὡς συνελέγησαν πολλοὶ καὶ χρήσιμοι ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διαβὰς καὶ εἰς Σηστόν, καταντικρὺ ὄντα Ἀβύδου καὶ ἀπέχοντα οὐ πλέον ὀκτὼ σταδίων, ὅσοι τε διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους γῆν ἔσχον ἐν Χερρονήσῳ, ἤθροιζε, καὶ ὅσοι αὖ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πόλεων ἁρμοσταὶ ἐξέπιπτον, καὶ τούτους ἐδέχετο, λέγων ὅτι οὐδ' ἐκείνους ἀθυμεῖν δεῖ, ἐννοουμένους ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἣ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασιλέως ἐστί, καὶ Τῆμνος, οὐ μεγάλη πόλις, καὶ Αἰγαί εἰσι καὶ ἄλλα γε χωρία ἃ δύνανται οἰκεῖν οὐχ ὑπήκοοι ὄντες βασιλέως. Καίτοι, ἔφη, ποῖον μὲν ἂν ἰσχυρότερον Σηστοῦ λάβοιτε χωρίον, ποῖον δὲ δυσπολιορκητότερον; ὃ καὶ νεῶν καὶ πεζῶν δεῖται, εἰ μέλλοι πολιορκηθήσεσθαι. τούτους αὖ τοιαῦτα λέγων ἔσχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλῆχθαι.

Ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἐπεὶ ηὗρε τήν τε Ἄβυδον καὶ τὸν Σηστὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα, προηγόρευεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιεν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, πόλεμον ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, Κόνωνι μὲν προσέταξε κωλύειν αὐτοὺς τὴν θάλατταν πλεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐδῄου τὴν τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν χώραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινε πρὸς τὸ καταστρέφεσθαι, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆλθε, τὸν δὲ Κόνωνα ἐκέλευεν εὐτρεπίζεσθαι τὰς καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον πόλεις, ὅπως εἰς τὸ ἔαρ ὅτι πλεῖστον ναυτικὸν ἀθροισθείη. ὀργιζόμενος γὰρ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπεπόνθει περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο

elsewhere. Then, after many good men had been collected in the city, Dercylidas crossed over to Sestus, which is opposite Abydus and distant not more than eight stadia, gathered together all who had obtained land in the Chersonese[1] through the Lacedaemonians, and received also all those governors who had been driven out in like fashion from the cities on the European side, saying to them that they ought not to be discouraged, either, when they reflected that even in Asia, which had belonged from all time to the King, there was Temnus—not a large city—and Aegae and other places in which people were able to dwell without being subject to the King. "In any event," he said, "what stronger place could you find than Sestus, what place harder to capture by siege? For it is a place which requires both ships and troops if it is to be besieged." By such words he kept these men also from being panic-stricken. 394 B.C.

Now when Pharnabazus found both Abydus and Sestus in this condition, he made proclamation to their inhabitants that if they did not expel the Lacedaemonians he would make war upon them. And upon their refusing to obey, he directed Conon to prevent them from sailing the sea, while he himself proceeded to lay waste the territory of the Abydenes. But failing to make any progress toward subduing them, he himself went back home, ordering Conon to try to win over the cities along the Hellespont, to the end that as large a fleet as possible might be gathered together by the coming of the spring. For he was angry with the Lacedaemonians on account of what he had suffered at their hands, and therefore desired above all things to go

[1] *cp.* III. ii. 10.

ἐλθεῖν τε εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι
7 ὅ τι δύναιτο. καὶ τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἐν τοιούτοις ὄντες διῆγον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι ναῦς τε πολλὰς συμπληρώσας καὶ ξενικὸν προσμισθωσάμενος ἔπλευσεν ὁ Φαρνάβαζός τε καὶ ὁ Κόνων μετ᾿ αὐτοῦ διὰ νήσων εἰς Μῆλον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὁρμώμενοι εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. καταπλεύσας δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Φερὰς ἐδῄωσε ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλοσε ἀποβαίνων τῆς παραθαλαττίας ἐκακούργει ὅ τι ἐδύνατο. φοβούμενος δὲ τήν τε ἀλιμενότητα τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς βοηθείας καὶ τὴν σπανοσιτίαν, ταχύ τε ἀνέστρεψε καὶ ἀποπλέων ὡρμίσθη τῆς Κυθηρίας εἰς Φοινικοῦντα.

8 Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κυθηρίων φοβηθέντες μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἁλοῖεν ἐξέλιπον τὰ τείχη, ἐκείνους μὲν ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὴν Λακωνικήν, αὐτὸς δ᾿ ἐπισκευάσας τὸ τῶν Κυθηρίων τεῖχος φρουρούς τε καὶ Νικόφημον Ἀθηναῖον ἁρμοστὴν ἐν τοῖς Κυθήροις κατέλιπε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ εἰς Ἰσθμὸν τῆς Κορινθίας καταπλεύσας, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις προθύμως τε πολεμεῖν καὶ ἄνδρας πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι βασιλεῖ, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς χρήματα ὅσα
9 εἶχεν, ᾤχετο ἐπ᾿ οἴκου ἀποπλέων. λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Κόνωνος ὡς εἰ ἐῴη αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὸ ναυτικόν, θρέψοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων, καταπλεύσας δ᾿ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα συναναστήσοι τά τε μακρὰ τείχη τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεῖχος,

to their country and take what vengeance upon them he could. In such occupations, accordingly, they passed the winter; but at the opening of spring, having fully manned a large number of ships and hired a force of mercenaries besides, Pharnabazus, and Conon with him, sailed through the islands to Melos, and making that their base, went on to Lacedaemon. And first Pharnabazus put in at Pherae and laid waste this region; then he made descents at one point and another of the coast and did whatever harm he could. But being fearful because the country was destitute of harbours, because the Lacedaemonians might send relief forces, and because provisions were scarce in the land, he quickly turned about, and sailing away, came to anchor at Phoenicus in the island of Cythera. 394 B.C. 393 B.C.

And when those who held possession of the city of the Cytherians abandoned their walls through fear of being captured by storm, he allowed them to depart to Laconia under a truce, and having repaired the wall of the Cytherians, left in Cythera a garrison of his own and Nicophemus, an Athenian, as governor. After doing these things and sailing to the Isthmus of Corinth and there exhorting the allies to carry on the war zealously and show themselves men faithful to the King, he left them all the money that he had and sailed off homeward. But when Conon said that if he would allow him to have the fleet, he would maintain it by contributions from the islands and would meanwhile put in at Athens and aid the Athenians in rebuilding their long walls and the wall around Piraeus,[1] adding that

[1] Destroyed at the close of the Peloponnesian War. *cp.* II. ii. 20–23.

οὗ εἰδέναι ἔφη ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδὲν ἂν βαρύ-
τερον γένοιτο, Καὶ τοῦτο οὖν, ἔφη, σὺ τοῖς μὲν
Ἀθηναίοις κεχαρισμένος ἔσει, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαι-
μονίους τετιμωρημένος· ἐφ' ᾧ γὰρ πλεῖστα ἐπό-
νησαν, ἀτελὲς αὐτοῖς ποιήσεις. ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος
ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν προθύμως εἰς
τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ χρήματα προσέθηκεν αὐτῷ εἰς
τὸν ἀνατειχισμόν.

10 Ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος πολὺ τοῦ τείχους ὤρθωσε, τά
τε αὑτοῦ πληρώματα παρέχων καὶ τέκτοσι καὶ
λιθολόγοις μισθὸν διδούς, καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι ἀναγ-
καῖον ἦν, δαπανῶν. ἦν μέντοι τοῦ τείχους ἃ καὶ
αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις
ἐθελούσιαι συνετείχισαν. οἱ μέντοι Κορίνθιοι ἀφ'
ὧν ὁ Φαρνάβαζος κατέλιπε χρημάτων ναῦς πλη-
ρώσαντες καὶ Ἀγαθῖνον ναύαρχον ἐπιστήσαντες
ἐθαλαττοκράτουν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ Λέχαιον
κόλπῳ. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
11 ναῦς, ὧν Ποδάνεμος ἦρχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτος ἐν προσ-
βολῇ τινι γενομένῃ ἀπέθανε, καὶ Πόλλις αὖ ἐπι-
στολεὺς ὢν τρωθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν, Ἡριππίδας ταύτας
ἀναλαμβάνει τὰς ναῦς. Πρόαινος μέντοι Κορίν-
θιος τὰς παρ' Ἀγαθίνου παραλαβὼν ναῦς ἐξέλιπε
τὸ Ῥίον· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὐτὸ παρέλαβον. μετὰ
δὲ τοῦτο Τελευτίας ἐπὶ τὰς Ἡριππίδου ναῦς ἦλθε,
καὶ οὗτος αὖ τοῦ κόλπου πάλιν ἐκράτει.

12 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες ὅτι Κόνων καὶ
τὸ τεῖχος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῶν βασιλέως χρη-
μάτων ἀνορθοίη, καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου

he knew nothing could be a heavier blow to the Lacedaemonians than this. "And by this act, therefore," he said, "you will have conferred a favour upon the Athenians and have taken vengeance upon the Lacedaemonians, inasmuch as you will undo for them the deed for whose accomplishment they underwent the most toil and trouble." Pharnabazus, upon hearing this, eagerly dispatched him to Athens and gave him additional money for the rebuilding of the walls. 393 B.C.

Upon his arrival Conon erected a large part of the wall, giving his own crews for the work, paying the wages of carpenters and masons, and meeting whatever other expense was necessary. There were some parts of the wall, however, which the Athenians themselves, as well as volunteers from Boeotia and from other states, aided in building. The Corinthians, on the other hand, manned ships with the money which Pharnabazus left, appointed Agathinus as admiral, and established their mastery of the sea in the gulf around Achaea and Lechaeum. And the Lacedaemonians on their side manned ships, which Podanemus commanded. But when he was killed in an attack which took place, and Pollis in his turn, who was vice-admiral, was wounded and went home, Herippidas took command of these ships. Proaenus, the Corinthian, however, who had succeeded to the command of the ships of Agathinus, abandoned Rhium, and the Lacedaemonians took it over. After this Teleutias came to assume charge of the ships of Herippidas, and he in his turn was now master of the gulf.

Now the Lacedaemonians, upon hearing that Conon was not only rebuilding their wall for the Athenians out of the King's money, but was also, 392 B.C.

τρέφων τάς τε νήσους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ παρὰ θάλατταν πόλεις Ἀθηναίοις εὐτρεπίζοι, ἐνόμισαν, εἰ ταῦτα διδάσκοιεν Τιρίβαζον βασιλέως ὄντα στρατηγόν, ἢ καὶ ἀποστῆσαι ἂν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸν Τιρίβαζον ἢ παῦσαί γ' ἂν τὸ Κόνωνος ναυτικὸν τρέφοντα. γνόντες δὲ οὕτω, πέμπουσιν Ἀνταλκίδαν πρὸς τὸν Τιρίβαζον, προστάξαντες αὐτῷ ταῦτα διδάσκειν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει

13 ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς βασιλέα. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπέμπουσι πρέσβεις μετὰ Κόνωνος Ἑρμογένη καὶ Δίωνα καὶ Καλλισθένη καὶ Καλλιμέδοντα. συμπαρεκάλεσαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις· καὶ παρεγένοντο ἀπό

14 τε Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορίνθου καὶ Ἄργους. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖ ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀνταλκίδας ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Τιρίβαζον ὅτι εἰρήνης δεόμενος ἥκοι τῇ πόλει πρὸς βασιλέα, καὶ ταύτης οἵασπερ βασιλεὺς ἐπεθύμει.[1] τῶν τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων Λακεδαιμονίους βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, τάς τε νήσους ἁπάσας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀρκεῖν σφίσιν αὐτονόμους εἶναι. Καίτοι, ἔφη, τοιαῦτα ἐθελόντων ἡμῶν, τίνος ἂν ἕνεκα πρὸς ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς[2] πολεμοίη ἢ χρήματα δαπανῴη; καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπὶ βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι δυνατὸν οὔτε Ἀθηναίοις μὴ ἡγουμένων ἡμῶν οὔθ' ἡμῖν αὐτονόμων οὐσῶν τῶν πόλεων.

15 Τῷ μὲν δὴ Τιριβάζῳ ἀκούοντι ἰσχυρῶς ἤρεσκον οἱ τοῦ Ἀνταλκίδου λόγοι· τοῖς δὲ ἐναν-

[1] ἐπεθύμει MSS. except B: πάλαι ἐπεθύμει Kel. with B, but doubtfully.

[2] Before βασιλεὺς the MSS. have οἱ Ἕλληνες ἢ: Kel. brackets, following Morus.

while maintaining his fleet from the latter's funds, engaged in winning over the islands and the coast cities on the mainland to the Athenians, conceived the idea that if they informed Tiribazus, who was the King's general, of these things, they could either bring Tiribazus over entirely to their side or at least put an end to his maintaining Conon's fleet. Having come to this conclusion, they sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus with instructions to inform Tiribazus of these facts, and to endeavour to make peace between the state and the King. But when the Athenians learned of this, they likewise sent ambassadors,—Conon at their head, and Hermogenes, Dion, Callisthenes, and Callimedon. They also invited ambassadors from their allies to go with them; and ambassadors did come from the Boeotians, from Corinth, and from Argos. When they had reached their destination, Antalcidas said to Tiribazus that he had come desiring peace between his state and the King, and, furthermore, just such a peace as the King had wished for. For the Lacedaemonians, he said, urged no claim against the King to the Greek cities in Asia and they were content that all the islands and the Greek cities in general should be independent. "And yet," he said, "if we are ready to agree to such conditions, why should the King be at war with us or be spending money? Indeed, if such terms were made, we could not take the field against the King, either; the Athenians could not unless we assumed the leadership, and we could not if the cities were independent." 392 B.C.

Now Tiribazus was mightily pleased at hearing the words of Antalcidas; but to the opponents of Antalcidas these proposals went no further than

τίοις λόγοι[1] ταῦτ' ἦν. οἵ τε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφοβοῦντο συνθέσθαι αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς νήσους εἶναι, μὴ Λήμνου καὶ Ἴμβρου καὶ Σκύρου στερηθεῖεν, οἵ τε Θηβαῖοι, μὴ ἀναγκασθείησαν ἀφεῖναι τὰς Βοιωτίδας πόλεις αὐτονόμους, οἵ τ' Ἀργεῖοι, οὗ ἐπεθύμουν, οὐκ ἐνόμιζον ἂν τὴν Κόρινθον δύνασθαι ὡς Ἄργος[2] ἔχειν τοιούτων συνθηκῶν καὶ σπονδῶν γενομένων. αὕτη μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη οὕτως ἐγένετο ἀτελής, καὶ ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε ἕκαστος.

16 Ὁ μέντοι Τιρίβαζος τὸ μὲν ἄνευ βασιλέως μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων γενέσθαι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῷ ἡγεῖτο εἶναι· λάθρᾳ γε μέντοι ἔδωκε χρήματα Ἀνταλκίδᾳ, ὅπως ἂν πληρωθέντος ναυτικοῦ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οἵ τε Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον τῆς εἰρήνης προσδέοιντο, καὶ τὸν Κόνωνα ὡς ἀδικοῦντά τε βασιλέα καὶ ἀληθῆ λεγόντων Λακεδαιμονίων εἶρξε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀνέβαινε πρὸς βασιλέα, φράσων ἅ τε λέγοιεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὅτι Κόνωνα συνειληφὼς εἴη ὡς ἀδικοῦντα, καὶ ἐρωτήσων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ
17 τούτων ἁπάντων. καὶ βασιλεὺς μέν, ὡς Τιρίβαζος ἄνω παρ' αὐτῷ ἦν, Στρούθαν καταπέμπει ἐπιμελησόμενον τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν. ὁ μέντοι Στρούθας ἰσχυρῶς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις τὴν γνώμην προσεῖχε, μεμνημένος ὅσα κακὰ ἐπεπόνθει ἡ βασιλέως χώρα ὑπ' Ἀγησιλάου.

[1] λόγοι Stephanus : λόγοις MSS.: οὐ βουλομένοις Kel.
[2] ὡς Ἄργος Leunclavius : Kel. follows the majority of the MSS. in reading ὥστ' Ἄργος, but brackets the words.

words.[1] For the Athenians were afraid to agree that the cities and the islands should be independent lest they should be deprived of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros[2]; and the Thebans, lest they should be compelled to leave the Boeotian cities independent; while the Argives thought that they could not keep Corinth as Argos,[3] a thing which they desired, if such an agreement and peace were concluded. So it was that this project of peace came to naught, and the ambassadors returned to their several homes. 392 B.C.

As for Tiribazus, he thought that it was not safe for him to take the side of the Lacedaemonians without the King's approval; in secret, however, he gave money to Antalcidas, to the end that a fleet might be manned by the Lacedaemonians and thus the Athenians and their allies be made more desirous of peace, and he also imprisoned Conon, on the ground that he was wronging the King and that the charges made by the Lacedaemonians were true. After doing these things he proceeded to go up to the King for the purpose of telling him not only the proposals of the Lacedaemonians, but also that he had arrested Conon as a wrong-doer, and likewise to ask the King what he should do about all these matters. Now the King, when Tiribazus had arrived 391 B.C. at his capital in the interior, sent down Struthas to take charge of affairs on the coast. Struthas, however, devoted himself assiduously to the Athenians and their allies, remembering all the harm which the King's country had suffered at the hands of Agesilaus.

[1] Literally, "were words only"; *i.e.* were not treated as a reasonable basis for a peace.

[2] These islands were among the earliest possessions of Athens. They were lost at the close of the Peloponnesian War, but had recently been recovered.

[3] *cp.* iv. 6.

οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἑώρων τὸν Στρούθαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς μὲν πολεμικῶς ἔχοντα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φιλικῶς, Θίβρωνα πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ διαβάς τε καὶ ὁρμώμενος ἐξ Ἐφέσου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ πόλεων Πριήνης τε καὶ Λευκόφρυος καὶ Ἀχιλλείου, ἔφερε καὶ ἦγε τὴν βασιλέως.

18 Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου κατανοήσας ὁ Στρούθας ὅτι Θίβρων βοηθοίη ἑκάστοτε ἀτάκτως καὶ καταφρονητικῶς, ἔπεμψεν ἱππέας εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ καταδραμόντας ἐκέλευσε περιβαλλομένους ἐλαύνειν ὅ τι δύναιντο. ὁ δὲ Θίβρων ἐτύγχανεν ἐξ ἀρίστου δισκεύων μετὰ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ αὐλητοῦ. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θέρσανδρος οὐ μόνον αὐλητὴς ἀγαθός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλκῆς, ἅτε λακωνίζων, ἀντεποιεῖτο.

19 ὁ δὲ Στρούθας, ἰδὼν ἀτάκτως τε βοηθοῦντας καὶ ὀλίγους τοὺς πρώτους, ἐπιφαίνεται πολλούς τε ἔχων καὶ συντεταγμένους ἱππέας. καὶ Θίβρωνα μὲν καὶ Θέρσανδρον πρώτους ἀπέκτειναν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἔπεσον, ἐτρέψαντο καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, καὶ διώκοντες παμπληθεῖς κατέβαλον, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἳ ἐσώθησαν αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς φιλίας πόλεις, καὶ πλείους διὰ τὸ ὀψὲ αἰσθέσθαι τῆς βοηθείας ἀπελείποντο.[1] πολλάκις γάρ, ὡς καὶ τότε, οὐδὲ παραγγείλας τὴν βοήθειαν ἐποιήσατο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγεγένητο.

[1] Inserted by Kel.

The Lacedaemonians accordingly, when they saw that Struthas was hostile to them and friendly to the Athenians, sent Thibron to make war upon him. And Thibron, crossing over to Asia and employing as a base of operations not only Ephesus, but also the cities in the plain of the Maeander—Priene, Leucophrys, and Achilleum,—proceeded to plunder the territory of the King. 391 B.C.

As time went on, however, Struthas, who had observed that the raiding expeditions of Thibron were in every case carried out in a disorderly and disdainful fashion, sent horsemen to the plain and ordered them to rush upon the enemy and surround and carry off whatever they could. Now it chanced that Thibron, having finished breakfast, was engaged in throwing the discus[1] with Thersander, the flute-player. For Thersander was not only a good flute-player, but he also laid claim to physical strength, inasmuch as he was an imitator of things Lacedaemonian. Then Struthas, upon seeing that the enemy were making their raid in disorder, and that the foremost of them were few in number, appeared upon the scene with a large force of horsemen, drawn up in good order. And the first whom they killed were Thibron and Thersander; and when these men fell they put to flight the rest of the army also, and in the pursuit struck down a very great many. Some of Thibron's men, however, made their escape to the friendly cities and a larger number had been left in camp because they had learned of the expedition too late. For frequently, as in this case also, Thibron undertook his expeditions without even sending out orders. Thus ended these events.

[1] A heavy circular flat stone. The object was to see who could make the longest throw.

20 Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἦλθον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἐκπεπτω-
κότες Ῥοδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐκ
ἄξιον εἴη περιιδεῖν Ἀθηναίους Ῥόδον καταστρε-
ψαμένους καὶ τοσαύτην δύναμιν συνθεμένους.
γνόντες οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὡς εἰ μὲν ὁ δῆμος
κρατήσοι, Ἀθηναίων ἔσται Ῥόδος ἅπασα, εἰ δὲ οἱ
πλουσιώτεροι, ἑαυτῶν, ἐπλήρωσαν αὐτοῖς ναῦς
21 ὀκτώ, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἔκδικον ἐπέστησαν. συνεξέ-
πεμψαν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν νεῶν καὶ Διφρίδαν.
ἐκέλευσαν δ᾽ αὐτὸν διαβάντα εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τάς
τε Θίβρωνα ὑποδεξαμένας πόλεις διασῴζειν, καὶ
στράτευμα τὸ περισωθὲν ἀναλαβόντα καὶ ἄλλο,
εἴ ποθεν δύναιτο, συλλέξαντα πολεμεῖν πρὸς
Στρούθαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Διφρίδας ταῦτα ἐποίει, καὶ
τά τ᾽ ἄλλα ἐπετύγχανε καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν τὴν
Στρούθα ἔχοντα θυγατέρα πορευόμενον εἰς Σάρ-
δεις λαμβάνει σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ χρημάτων
πολλῶν ἀπέλυσεν· ὥστ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐντεῦθεν εἶχε μι-
22 σθοδοτεῖν. ἦν δ᾽ οὗτος ἀνὴρ[1] εὔχαρίς τε οὐχ ἧττον
τοῦ Θίβρωνος, μᾶλλόν τε συντεταγμένος καὶ ἐγ-
χειρητικώτερος στρατηγός. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκράτουν
αὐτοῦ αἱ τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναί, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ πρὸς ᾧ
εἴη ἔργῳ, τοῦτο ἔπραττεν.

Ὁ δ᾽ Ἔκδικος ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν Κνίδον ἔπλευσε
καὶ ἐπύθετο τὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ δῆμον πάντα
κατέχοντα, καὶ κρατοῦντα καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ
κατὰ θάλατταν, διπλασίαις τριήρεσιν ἢ αὐτὸς
23 εἶχεν, ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν ἐν τῇ Κνίδῳ. οἱ δ᾽ αὖ Λακε-

[1] ἀνὴρ MSS.: ἁνὴρ Kel., following Dindorf.

Now when those of the Rhodians who had been banished by the democratic faction came to Lacedaemon, they set forth that it was not expedient for the Lacedaemonians to allow the Athenians to subdue Rhodes and thus gain for themselves so great a power. The Lacedaemonians, therefore, realizing that if the commons should prevail, all Rhodes would belong to the Athenians, while if the wealthier classes should prevail, it would be their own possession, manned for them eight ships and appointed Ecdicus as admiral to command them. They sent out Diphridas also on board these ships, and ordered him to cross over into Asia and to keep safe the cities which had received Thibron, and then, after assuming command of that part of Thibron's army which was left alive, and after gathering another army from wherever he could, to make war upon Struthas. Diphridas accordingly set about these things, and he was successful not only in his other undertakings, but particularly in capturing Tigranes, the husband of Struthas' daughter, and his wife also, as they were journeying to Sardis, and in obtaining a large ransom for their release, so that he was at once able to hire mercenaries with the money thus obtained. This Diphridas was as a man no less attractive than Thibron, and as a general he was more self-controlled and enterprising. For the pleasures of the body did not hold the mastery over him, but in whatever task he was engaged, he always gave himself wholly to it. 391 B.C.

As for Ecdicus, after sailing to Cnidos and learning that the commons in Rhodes were in possession of everything, and were masters both by land and by sea, having twice as many triremes as he had himself, he remained quiet in Cnidos. The Lacedaemonians,

δαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ᾔσθοντο αὐτὸν ἐλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν ἢ ὥστε τοὺς φίλους ὠφελεῖν, ἐκέλευσαν τὸν Τελευτίαν σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα ναυσὶν αἷς εἶχεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπῳ περιπλεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἔκδικον, κἀκεῖνον μὲν ἀποπέμψαι, αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν τε βουλομένων φίλων εἶναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὅ τι δύναιτο κακὸν ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Σάμον, προσλαβὼν ἐκεῖθεν ναῦς ἑπτὰ[1] ἔπλευ-
24 σεν εἰς Κνίδον, ὁ δ' Ἔκδικος οἴκαδε. ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας ἔπλει εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, ἤδη ἔχων ναῦς ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι· πλέων δὲ περιτυγχάνει Φιλοκράτει τῷ Ἐφιάλτου πλέοντι μετὰ δέκα τριήρων Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Κύπρον ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ τῇ Εὐαγόρου, καὶ λαμβάνει πάσας, ὑπεναντιώτατα δὴ ταῦτα ἀμφότεροι ἑαυτοῖς πράττοντες· οἵ τε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι φίλῳ χρώμενοι βασιλεῖ συμμαχίαν ἔπεμπον Εὐαγόρᾳ τῷ πολεμοῦντι πρὸς βασιλέα, ὅ τε Τελευτίας Λακεδαιμονίων πολεμούντων βασιλεῖ τοὺς πλέοντας ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου πολέμῳ διέφθειρεν. ἐπαναπλεύσας δ' εἰς Κνίδον καὶ διαθέμενος ἃ ἔλαβεν, εἰς Ῥόδον αὖ ἀφικόμενος ἐβοήθει τοῖς τὰ αὐτῶν φρονοῦσιν.

25 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πάλιν δύναμιν κατασκευάζεσθαι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, ἀντεκπέμπουσι Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειριέα σὺν τετταράκοντα ναυσίν. ὁ δ' ἐκπλεύσας τῆς μὲν εἰς Ῥόδον βοηθείας ἐπέσχε, νομίζων οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸς

[1] Inserted by Kel., following Hartman.

on the other hand, when they found that he had too 391 B.C. small a force to be of service to their friends, ordered Teleutias, with the twelve ships which he had under his command in the gulf round Achaea and Lechaeum,[1] to sail around to Ecdicus, send him back home, and himself look after the interests of those who wished to be their friends, and do whatever harm he could to their enemies. And when Teleutias arrived at Samos he obtained from there seven more ships and sailed on to Cnidos, while Ecdicus returned home. Then Teleutias continued his voyage to Rhodes, having now twenty-seven ships; and while sailing thither he fell in with Philocrates, the son of Ephialtes, sailing with ten triremes from Athens to Cyprus for the purpose of aiding Euagoras, and captured all ten. Both parties were acting in this affair in a manner absolutely opposed to their own interests; for the Athenians, although they had the King for a friend, were sending aid to Euagoras who was making war upon the King, and Teleutias, although the Lacedaemonians were at war with the King, was destroying people who were sailing to make war upon him. Then Teleutias, after sailing back to Cnidos and selling there the booty which he had captured, arrived at Rhodes on his second voyage and proceeded to aid those who held to the side of the Lacedaemonians.

Meanwhile the Athenians, coming to the belief 390 B.C. that the Lacedaemonians were again acquiring power on the sea, sent out against them Thrasybulus, of the deme Steiria, with forty ships. When he had sailed out, he gave up his plan of an expedition to Rhodes, thinking on the one hand that he could

[1] *cp.* § 11.

ῥᾳδίως τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς φίλους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τεῖχος ἔχοντας καὶ Τελευτίου σὺν ναυσὶ παρόντος συμμάχου αὐτοῖς, οὔτ' ἂν τοὺς σφετέρους φίλους ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι, τάς τε πόλεις ἔχοντας καὶ πολὺ πλείους ὄντας καὶ
26 μάχῃ γε κεκρατηκότας· εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλεύσας καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀντιπάλου παρόντος ἐνόμισε καταπρᾶξαι ἄν τι τῇ πόλει ἀγαθόν. καὶ οὕτω δὴ πρῶτον μὲν καταμαθὼν στασιάζοντας Ἀμήδοκόν τε τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλέα καὶ Σεύθην τὸν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἄρχοντα ἀλλήλοις μὲν διήλλαξεν αὐτούς, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησε, νομίζων καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τῇ Θρᾴκῃ οἰκούσας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις φίλων ὄντων τούτων μᾶλλον προσ-
27 έχειν ἂν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν νοῦν. ἐχόντων δὲ τούτων τε καλῶς καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων διὰ τὸ βασιλέα φίλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι, πλεύσας εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀπέδοτο τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλεόντων. μετέστησε δὲ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας εἰς τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι τοὺς Βυζαντίους· ὥστε οὐκ ἀχθεινῶς ἑώρα ὁ τῶν Βυζαντίων δῆμος Ἀθηναίους ὅτι πλείστους παρόντας ἐν τῇ πόλει.

28 Ταῦτα δὲ πράξας καὶ Καλχηδονίους φίλους προσποιησάμενος ἀπέπλει ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐπιτυχὼν δ' ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ ταῖς πόλεσι πάσαις πλὴν Μυτιληναίων λακωνιζούσαις, ἐπ' οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν ᾔει, πρὶν ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ συντάξας τούς τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νεῶν τετρακοσίους ὁπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων φυγάδας, ὅσοι εἰς Μυτιλήνην

not easily punish the friends of the Lacedaemonians, since they held a fortress and Teleutias was there with a fleet to support them, and, on the other hand, that the friends of his own state would not fall under the power of the enemy, since they held the cities, were far more numerous, and had been victorious in battle. Accordingly he sailed to the Hellespont, and, since there was no adversary there, thought that he could accomplish some useful service for his state. In the first place, therefore, learning that Amedocus, the king of the Odrysians, and Seuthes, the ruler of the coast region, were at variance, he reconciled them to one another and made them friends and allies of the Athenians, thinking that if they were friendly, the Greek cities situated on the Thracian coast would also show a greater inclination towards the Athenians. Then, with this matter successfully arranged, and the cities in Asia in a favourable attitude on account of the King's being a friend of the Athenians, he sailed to Byzantium and farmed out the tithe-duty on vessels sailing out of the Pontus.[1] He also changed the government of the Byzantines from an oligarchy to a democracy, so that the commons of Byzantium were not sorry to see the greatest possible number of Athenians present in their city. 390 B.C.

Now after he had accomplished these things and had won over the Calchedonians also as friends, he sailed back out of the Hellespont. And finding that all the cities in Lesbos except Mytilene were on the side of the Lacedaemonians, he went against none of them until he had marshalled in Mytilene the four hundred hoplites from his own ships and all the exiles from the Lesbian cities who

[1] *cp.* I. i. 22 and note.

κατεπεφεύγεσαν, καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ Μυτιληναίων τοὺς
ἐρρωμενεστάτους προσλαβών, καὶ ἐλπίδας ὑπο-
θεὶς τοῖς μὲν Μυτιληναίοις ὡς ἐὰν λάβῃ τὰς
πόλεις, προστάται πάσης Λέσβου ἔσονται, τοῖς
δὲ φυγάσιν ὡς ἐὰν ὁμοῦ ὄντες ἐπὶ μίαν ἑκάστην
τῶν πόλεων ἴωσιν, ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται ἅπαντες εἰς
τὰς πατρίδας ἀνασωθῆναι, τοῖς δ' αὖ ἐπιβάταις
ὡς φίλην Λέσβον προσποιήσαντες τῇ πόλει πολ-
λὴν εὐπορίαν χρημάτων διαπεπραγμένοι ἔσονται,
ταῦτα δὲ παραμυθησάμενος καὶ συντάξας ἦγεν
29 αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Μήθυμναν. Θηρίμαχος μέντοι, ὃς
ἁρμοστὴς ἐτύγχανεν ὢν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς
ἤκουσε τὸν Θρασύβουλον προσιέναι, τούς τ' ἀπὸ
τῶν αὑτοῦ νεῶν λαβὼν ἐπιβάτας καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς
Μηθυμναίους καὶ ὅσοι Μυτιληναίων φυγάδες
ἐτύγχανον αὐτόθι, ἀπήντων ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια. μάχης
δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν Θηρίμαχος αὐτοῦ ἀποθνῄσκει,
30 τῶν δ' ἄλλων φευγόντων πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον. ἐκ δὲ
τούτου τὰς μὲν προσηγάγετο τῶν πόλεων, ἐκ δὲ
τῶν οὐ προσχωρουσῶν λεηλατῶν χρήματα τοῖς
στρατιώταις, ἔσπευσεν εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον ἀφικέσθαι.
ὅπως δ' ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖ ὡς ἐρρωμενέστατον τὸ στρά-
τευμα ποιήσαιτο, ἐξ ἄλλων τε πόλεων ἠργυρο-
λόγει καὶ εἰς Ἄσπενδον ἀφικόμενος ὡρμίσατο εἰς
τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα ποταμόν. ἤδη δ' ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ
χρήματα παρὰ τῶν Ἀσπενδίων, ἀδικησάντων τι
ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὀργισθέντες οἱ
Ἀσπένδιοι τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιπεσόντες κατακόπτου-
σιν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτόν.

had fled for refuge to Mytilene, and had also added 390 B.C.
to this force the stoutest of the Mytilenaeans themselves; nor, furthermore, until he had suggested hopes, firstly to the Mytilenaeans, that if he captured the cities they would be the leaders of all Lesbos, secondly to the exiles, that if they proceeded all together against each single one of the cities, they would be able, acting in unison, to accomplish their restoration to their native states, and again to his marines, that by making Lesbos likewise friendly to their state they would at once obtain a great abundance of money. Then, after giving them this encouragement and marshalling them in line of battle, he led them against Methymna. Therimachus, however, who chanced to be the Lacedaemonian governor, on hearing that Thrasybulus was coming against him, took the marines from his own ships, the Methymnaeans themselves, and all the Mytilenaean exiles who chanced to be there, and went to meet the enemy at the borders. A battle was fought in which Therimachus was killed on the spot and many of the others were killed as they fled.
After this Thrasybulus brought over some of the 389 B.C.
cities, and was busy collecting money for his soldiers by plundering from those which refused to come over; meanwhile he was eager to arrive at Rhodes. But to the end that there also he might make his army as strong as possible, he collected money from various cities, and came to Aspendus in particular and anchored in the Eurymedon river. And after he had already received money from the Aspendians, his soldiers wrongfully did some plundering from their lands; the Aspendians therefore in anger fell upon him during the night and cut him down in his tent.

31 Καὶ Θρασύβουλος μὲν δὴ μάλα δοκῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. οἱ μέντοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἑλόμενοι ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ Ἀγύρριον ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐξέπεμψαν. αἰσθόμενοι δ᾽ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι ἡ δεκάτη τε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πεπραμένη εἴη ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Καλχηδόνα ἔχουσι καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι Ἑλλησπόντιαι πόλεις φίλου ὄντος αὐτοῖς Φαρναβάζου εὖ ἔχοιεν, ἔγνωσαν ἐπιμελη-
32 τέον εἶναι. τῷ μὲν οὖν Δερκυλίδᾳ οὐδὲν ἐμέμφοντο· Ἀναξίβιος μέντοι φίλων αὐτῷ γενομένων τῶν ἐφόρων διεπράξατο ὥστε αὐτὸς ἐκπλεῦσαι ἁρμοστὴς εἰς Ἄβυδον. εἰ δὲ λάβοι ἀφορμὴν καὶ ναῦς, καὶ πολεμήσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὥστε μὴ ἔχειν ἐκείνοις καλῶς τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ.
33 οἱ μὲν δὴ δόντες καὶ τρεῖς τριήρεις καὶ ἀφορμὴν εἰς ξένους χιλίους ἐξέπεμψαν τὸν Ἀναξίβιον. ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο, κατὰ γῆν μὲν ἀθροίσας ξενικὸν τῶν τ᾽ Αἰολίδων πόλεων παρεσπᾶτό τινας τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ ἐπιστρατευσάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄβυδον ἀντεπεστράτευε καὶ ἐπεπορεύετο καὶ ἐδῄου τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν· καὶ ναῦς δὲ πρὸς αἷς εἶχε συμπληρώσας ἐξ Ἀβύδου τρεῖς ἄλλας κατῆγεν, εἴ τί που λαμβάνοι Ἀθηναίων πλοῖον ἢ
34 τῶν ἐκείνων συμμάχων. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ δεδιότες μὴ φθαρείη σφίσιν ἃ κατεσκεύασεν ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ Θρασύβουλος,

This, then, was the end of Thrasybulus, who was esteemed a most excellent man. And the Athenians chose Agyrrhius in his place, and sent him out to take command of the ships. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, learning that the tithe-duty on the vessels sailing out of the Pontus had been sold at Byzantium by the Athenians, that they were in possession of Calchedon, and that the other Hellespontine cities were in a favourable attitude toward them because Pharnabazus was their friend, concluded that they must attend to this situation. They did not, indeed, find any fault with Dercylidas; but Anaxibius, inasmuch as the ephors had become friends of his, succeeded in having himself sent out to Abydus as governor. And he promised that if he received money and ships, he would also make war upon the Athenians, so that matters might not stand so well with them in the Hellespont. Accordingly the ephors gave Anaxibius three triremes and money enough for a thousand mercenaries, and sent him out. When he had reached Abydus, his operations by land were as follows: after collecting a mercenary force, he proceeded to detach some of the Aeolian cities from Pharnabazus, take the field in retaliatory expeditions against the cities which had made expeditions against Abydus, march upon them, and lay waste their territory. On the naval side, in addition to the ships which he had he fully manned three others from Abydus, and brought into port whatever merchant vessel he found anywhere belonging to the Athenians or their allies. The Athenians, however, learning of these things, and fearing that the results of all Thrasybulus' work in the Hellespont might be ruined for them, sent out against 389 B.C.

ἀντεκπέμπουσιν Ἰφικράτην ναῦς ὀκτὼ ἔχοντα
καὶ πελταστὰς εἰς διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους. οἱ
πλεῖστοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἦσαν ὧν ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἦρξεν.
ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν Κόρινθον Ἄργος ἐπε-
ποίηντο, οὐδὲν ἔφασαν αὐτῶν δεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ
ἀπεκτόνει τινὰς τῶν ἀργολιζόντων· καὶ οὕτως
35 ἀπελθὼν Ἀθήναζε οἴκοι ἔτυχεν ὤν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφί-
κετο εἰς Χερρόνησον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ἀναξίβιος
καὶ Ἰφικράτης λῃστὰς διαπέμποντες ἐπολέμουν
ἀλλήλοις· προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὁ Ἰφικράτης
αἰσθόμενος[1] Ἀναξίβιον οἰχόμενον εἰς Ἄνταν-
δρον σύν τε τοῖς μισθοφόροις καὶ τοῖς περὶ
αὐτὸν Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν Ἀβυδηνοῖς διακοσίοις
ὁπλίταις, καὶ ἀκούσας ὅτι τὴν Ἄντανδρον φιλίαν
προσειληφὼς εἴη, ὑπονοῶν ὅτι καταστήσας αὖ τὴν
ἐκεῖ φρουρὰν ἀποπορεύσοιτο πάλιν καὶ ἀπάξοι
τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς οἴκαδε, διαβὰς τῆς νυκτὸς ᾗ
ἐρημότατον ἦν τῆς Ἀβυδηνῆς καὶ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς
τὰ ὄρη ἐνέδραν ἐποιήσατο. τὰς δὲ τριήρεις αἳ
διήγαγον αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε παραπλεῖν ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
παρὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον τῆς ἄνω, ὅπως δοκοίη,
ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἐπ᾽ ἀργυρολογίαν ἐπαναπεπλευ-
36 κέναι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας οὐκ ἐψεύσθη, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ
Ἀναξίβιος ἀπεπορεύετο, ὡς μὲν ἐλέγετο, οὐδὲ
τῶν ἱερῶν γεγενημένων αὐτῷ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ,
ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσας, ὅτι διὰ φιλίας τε ἐπορεύετο
καὶ εἰς πόλιν φιλίαν καὶ ὅτι ἤκουε τῶν ἀπαντών-

[1] After αἰσθόμενος the MSS. have καί: Kel. brackets, following Cobet.

Anaxibius Iphicrates, with eight ships and about one 389 B.C. thousand two hundred peltasts. The greater part of these were the men whom he had commanded at Corinth.[1] For when the Argives had incorporated Corinth in Argos, they said that they had no need of them; for Iphicrates had put to death some of the partisans of Argos; accordingly he had returned to Athens and chanced to be at home at this time. Now when he reached the Chersonese, at first Anaxibius and he made war upon one another by sending out raiding parties; but as time went on Iphicrates found out that Anaxibius had gone to Antandrus with his mercenaries, the Lacedaemonians who were with him, and two hundred hoplites from Abydus, and heard that he had brought Antandrus into relations of friendship with him. Whereupon, suspecting that after he had also established his garrison there he would return again and bring the Abydenes back home, Iphicrates crossed over by night to the most deserted portion of the territory of Abydus, and going up into the mountains, set an ambush. Furthermore, he ordered the triremes which had brought him across the strait to sail at daybreak along the coast of the Chersonese, up the strait, in order that it might seem that he had sailed up the Hellespont to collect money, as he was wont to do. Having done all these things he was not disappointed, for Anaxibius did come marching back, even though—at least, as the story ran—his sacrifices on that day had not proved favourable; but despite that fact, filled with disdainful confidence because he was proceeding through a friendly country and to a friendly city, and because he heard from those who

[1] See chaps. iv. and v.

των τὸν Ἰφικράτην ἀναπεπλευκέναι τῆς ἐπὶ
37 Προκοννήσου, ἀμελέστερον ἐπορεύετο. ὅμως δὲ ὁ Ἰφικράτης, ἕως μὲν ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦ Ἀναξιβίου ἦν, οὐκ ἐξανίστατο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἀφηγούμενοι ἤδη ἐν τῷ παρὰ Κρεμαστὴν ἦσαν πεδίῳ, ἔνθα ἐστὶ τὰ χρύσεια αὐτοῖς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο στράτευμα ἑπόμενον ἐν τῷ κατάντει ἦν, ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος ἄρτι κατέβαινε σὺν τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἐξανίστησι τὴν ἐνέδραν καὶ δρόμῳ ἐφέρετο πρὸς αὐτόν.
38 καὶ ὁ Ἀναξίβιος γνοὺς μὴ εἶναι ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας, ὁρῶν ἐπὶ πολύ τε καὶ στενὸν ἐκτεταμένον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα, καὶ νομίζων πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι σαφῶς βοηθῆσαι ἑαυτῷ τοὺς προεληλυθότας, ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένους ἅπαντας, ὡς εἶδον τὴν ἐνέδραν, εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας· Ἄνδρες, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἐνθάδε καλὸν ἀποθανεῖν, ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὶν συμμεῖξαι τοῖς πολεμίοις
39 σπεύδετε εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ὑπασπιστοῦ λαβὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα αὐτοῦ μαχόμενος ἀποθνῄσκει. καὶ τὰ παιδικὰ μέντοι αὐτῷ παρέμεινε, καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν συνεληλυθότων ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἁρμοστήρων ὡς δώδεκα μαχόμενοι συναπέθανον. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες ἔπιπτον. οἱ δ' ἐδίωκον μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεως. καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων ὡς διακόσιοι ἀπέθανον καὶ τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν ὁπλιτῶν περὶ πεντήκοντα. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς Χερρόνησον.

met him that Iphicrates had sailed up in the direction of Proconnesus, he was making his march in a rather careless fashion. Nevertheless, Iphicrates did not rise from ambush so long as the army of Anaxibius was on the level ground; but when the Abydenes, who were in the van, were now in the plain of Cremaste, where their gold mines are, and the rest of the army as it followed along was on the downward slope, and Anaxibius with his Lacedaemonians was just beginning the descent, at this moment Iphicrates started his men up from their ambush and rushed upon him on the run. Then Anaxibius, judging that there was no hope of safety, inasmuch as he saw that his army extended over a long and narrow way, and thought that those who had gone on ahead would clearly be unable to come to his assistance up the hill, and since he also perceived that all were in a state of terror when they saw the ambush, said to those who were with him: "Gentlemen, it is honourable for me to die here, but do you hurry to safety before coming to close engagement with the enemy." Thus he spoke, and taking his shield from his shield-bearer, fell fighting on that spot. His favourite youth, however, remained by his side, and likewise from among the Lacedaemonians about twelve of the governors, who had come from their cities and joined him, fought and fell with him. But the rest of the Lacedaemonians fled and fell one after another, the enemy pursuing as far as the city. Furthermore, about two hundred of the other troops of Anaxibius were killed, and about fifty of the Abydene hoplites. And after accomplishing these things Iphicrates went back again to the Chersonese. 389 B.C.

BOOK V

E

I. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον Ἀθηναίοις τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις τοιαῦτα ἦν. ὢν δὲ πάλιν ὁ Ἐτεόνικος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ ἐπιμειξίᾳ χρωμένων τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον τῶν Αἰγινητῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἐπεὶ φανερῶς κατὰ θάλατταν ὁ πόλεμος ἐπολεμεῖτο, συνδόξαν καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐφίησι λῄζεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκ τῆς
2 Ἀττικῆς. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, πέμψαντες εἰς Αἴγιναν καὶ ὁπλίτας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Πάμφιλον ἐπετείχισαν Αἰγινήταις καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν δέκα τριήρεσιν. ὁ μέντοι Τελευτίας τυχὼν ἐπὶ τῶν νήσων ποι ἀφιγμένος κατὰ χρημάτων πόρον, ἀκούσας ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτειχισμοῦ,[1] ἐβοήθει τοῖς Αἰγινήταις· καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν ἀπήλασε, τὸ δ' ἐπιτείχισμα διεφύλαττεν ὁ Πάμφιλος.
3 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Ἱέραξ ναύαρχος ἀφικνεῖται. κἀκεῖνος μὲν παραλαμβάνει τὸ ναυτικόν, ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας μακαριώτατα δὴ ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε. ἡνίκα γὰρ ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατέβαινεν ἐπ' οἴκου ὁρμώμενος, οὐδεὶς ἐκεῖνον τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὃς οὐκ ἐδεξιώσατο, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστεφάνωσεν, ὁ δὲ ἐταινίωσεν, οἱ δ' ὑστερήσαντες

[1] περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτειχισμοῦ MSS.: Kel. brackets.

BOOK V

I. Such, then, were the doings of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians in the region of the Hellespont. Meanwhile Eteonicus was again in Aegina, and although previously the Aeginetans had been maintaining commercial intercourse with the Athenians, still, now that the war was being carried on by sea openly, he, with the approval of the ephors, urged on everybody who so wished, to plunder Attica. Thereupon the Athenians, being cut off from supplies by the plunderers, sent to Aegina a force of hoplites and Pamphilus as their general, built a fortress as a base of attack upon the Aeginetans, and besieged them both by land and by sea with ten triremes. Teleutias, however, who chanced to have arrived on one of the islands in quest of a grant of money, upon hearing of this (that is, in regard to the building of the fortress) came to the aid of the Aeginetans; and he drove off the Athenian fleet, but Pamphilus succeeded in holding the fortress. 389 B.C.

After this Hierax arrived from Lacedaemon as admiral. And he took over the fleet, while Teleutias, under the very happiest circumstances, set sail for home. For when he was going down to the sea as he set out for home, there was no one among the soldiers who did not grasp his hand, and one decked him with a garland, another with a fillet, and others

ὅμως καὶ ἀναγομένου ἔρριπτον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν στεφάνους καὶ ηὔχοντο αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά.

4 γιγνώσκω μὲν οὖν ὅτι ἐν τούτοις οὔτε δαπάνημα οὔτε κίνδυνον οὔτε μηχάνημα ἀξιόλογον οὐδὲν διηγοῦμαι· ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δία τόδε ἄξιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀνδρὶ ἐννοεῖν, τί ποτε ποιῶν ὁ Τελευτίας οὕτω διέθηκε τοὺς ἀρχομένους. τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη πολλῶν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ κινδύνων ἀξιολογώτερον ἀνδρὸς ἔργον ἐστίν.

5 Ὁ δ' αὖ Ἱέραξ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ναῦς λαβὼν πάλιν ἔπλει εἰς Ῥόδον, ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ τριήρεις δώδεκα κατέλιπε καὶ Γοργώπαν τὸν αὑτοῦ ἐπιστολέα ἁρμοστήν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπολιορκοῦντο μᾶλλον οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐπιτειχίσματι Ἀθηναίων ἢ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει· ὥστε ἀπὸ ψηφίσματος Ἀθηναῖοι πληρώσαντες ναῦς πολλὰς ἀπεκομίσαντο ἐξ Αἰγίνης πέμπτῳ μηνὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου. τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν αὖ πράγματα εἶχον ὑπό τε τῶν λῃστῶν καὶ τοῦ Γοργώπα· καὶ ἀντιπληροῦσι ναῦς τρισκαίδεκα, καὶ αἱροῦνται Εὔνομον ναύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτάς.

6 ὄντος δὲ τοῦ Ἱέρακος ἐν Ῥόδῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀνταλκίδαν ναύαρχον ἐκπέμπουσι, νομίζοντες καὶ Τιριβάζῳ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες μάλιστ' ἂν χαρίζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς Αἴγιναν, συμπαραλαβὼν τὰς τοῦ Γοργώπα ναῦς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Ἔφεσον, καὶ τὸν μὲν Γοργώπαν πάλιν ἀποπέμπει εἰς Αἴγιναν σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα ναυσίν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις Νικόλοχον ἐπέστησε

who came too late, nevertheless, even though he was now under way, threw garlands into the sea and prayed for many blessings upon him. Now I am aware that I am not describing in these incidents any enterprise involving money expended or danger incurred or any memorable stratagem; and yet, by Zeus, it seems to me that it is well worth a man's while to consider what sort of conduct it was that enabled Teleutias to inspire the men he commanded with such a feeling toward himself. For to attain to this is indeed the achievement of a true man, more noteworthy than the expenditure of much money and the encountering of many dangers. 389 B.C.

As for Hierax, on the other hand, he sailed back to Rhodes with the bulk of the ships, but left behind him in Aegina twelve triremes and Gorgopas, his vice-admiral, as governor. And after this it was the Athenians in the fortress who were besieged rather than the Aeginetans in the city; insomuch that the Athenians, by a formal decree, manned a large number of ships and brought back from Aegina in the fifth month the troops in the fortress. But when this had been done, the Athenians were again molested by the bands of raiders and by Gorgopas, and they manned against these enemies thirteen ships and chose Eunomus as admiral to command them. Now while Hierax was at Rhodes the Lace- 388 B.C.
daemonians sent out Antalcidas as admiral, thinking that by doing this they would most please Tiribazus also. And when Antalcidas arrived at Aegina, he took with him the ships of Gorgopas and sailed to Ephesus, then sent Gorgopas back again to Aegina with his twelve ships, and put Nicolochus, his

τὸν ἐπιστολέα. καὶ ὁ μὲν Νικόλοχος βοηθῶν
Ἀβυδηνοῖς ἔπλει ἐκεῖσε· παρατρεπόμενος δὲ εἰς
Τένεδον ἐδῄου τὴν χώραν, καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν
7 ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ἄβυδον. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
στρατηγοὶ ἀθροισθέντες ἀπὸ Σαμοθρᾴκης τε καὶ
Θάσου καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνα χωρίων ἐβοήθουν
τοῖς Τενεδίοις. ὡς δ᾽ ᾔσθοντο εἰς Ἄβυδον κατα-
πεπλευκότα τὸν Νικόλοχον, ὁρμώμενοι ἐκ Χερρο-
νήσου ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ναῦς πέντε καὶ
εἴκοσι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ταῖς μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν. ὁ
μέντοι Γοργώπας ἀποπλέων ἐξ Ἐφέσου περι-
τυγχάνει Εὐνόμῳ· καὶ τότε μὲν κατέφυγεν εἰς
Αἴγιναν μικρὸν πρὸ ἡλίου δυσμῶν. ἐκβιβάσας
8 δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐδείπνιζε τοὺς στρατιώτας. ὁ δ᾽ Εὔνομος
ὀλίγον χρόνον ὑπομείνας ἀπέπλει. νυκτὸς δ᾽
ἐπιγενομένης, φῶς ἔχων, ὥσπερ νομίζεται, ἀφη-
γεῖτο, ὅπως μὴ πλανῶνται αἱ ἑπόμεναι. ὁ δὲ
Γοργώπας ἐμβιβάσας εὐθὺς ἐπηκολούθει κατὰ
τὸν λαμπτῆρα, ὑπολειπόμενος, ὅπως μὴ φανερὸς
εἴη μηδ᾽ αἴσθησιν παρέχοι, λίθων τε ψόφῳ τῶν
κελευστῶν ἀντὶ φωνῆς χρωμένων καὶ παραγωγῇ
9 τῶν κωπῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν αἱ τοῦ Εὐνόμου πρὸς
τῇ γῇ περὶ Ζωστῆρα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκέλευε τῇ
σάλπιγγι ἐπιπλεῖν. τῷ δὲ Εὐνόμῳ ἐξ ἐνίων μὲν
τῶν νεῶν ἄρτι ἐξέβαινον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔτι[1] ὡρμίζοντο,
οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔτι κατέπλεον. ναυμαχίας δὲ πρὸς τὴν
σελήνην γενομένης, τέτταρας τριήρεις λαμβάνει

[1] καὶ ἔτι MSS.: Kel. brackets.

vice-admiral, in command of the rest. Thereupon 388 B.C.
Nicolochus, seeking to aid the people of Abydus, proceeded to sail thither; he turned aside, however, to Tenedos and laid waste its territory, and having obtained money there, sailed on to Abydus. Then the generals of the Athenians gathered together from Samothrace, Thasos, and the places in that region, and set out to aid the people of Tenedos. But upon learning that Nicolochus had put in at Abydus they then, setting out from the Chersonese as a base, blockaded him and his twenty-five ships with the thirty-two ships under their command. As for Gorgopas, on his voyage back from Ephesus he fell in with Eunomus, and for the moment took refuge in Aegina, reaching there a little before sunset. Then he at once disembarked his men and gave them dinner. Meanwhile Eunomus, after waiting a short time, sailed off. And when night came on he led the way, carrying a light, as the custom is, so that the ships which were following him might not go astray. Then Gorgopas immediately embarked his men and followed on in the direction of the light, keeping behind the enemy so that he should not be visible or give them a chance to notice him; while his boatswains gave the time by clicking stones together instead of with their voices, and made the men employ a sliding motion of the oars. But when the ships of Eunomus were close to the shore near Cape Zoster in Attica, Gorgopas gave the order by the trumpet to sail against them. And as for Eunomus, the men on some of his ships were just disembarking, others were still occupied in coming to anchor, and others were even yet on their way toward the shore. Then, a battle being fought by moonlight, Gorgopas

ὁ Γοργώπας, καὶ ἀναδησάμενος ᾤχετο ἄγων εἰς
Αἴγιναν. αἱ δ' ἄλλαι νῆες αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέφυγον.
10 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Χαβρίας ἐξέπλει εἰς Κύπρον
βοηθῶν Εὐαγόρᾳ, πελταστάς τ' ἔχων ὀκτακοσίους
καὶ δέκα τριήρεις, προσλαβὼν δὲ καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν
ἄλλας τε ναῦς καὶ ὁπλίτας· αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς
ἀποβὰς εἰς τὴν Αἴγιναν πορρωτέρω τοῦ Ἡρα-
κλείου ἐν κοίλῳ χωρίῳ ἐνήδρευσεν, ἔχων τοὺς
πελταστάς. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὥσπερ ξυνέκειτο,
ἧκον οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁπλῖται, Δημαινέτου
αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου, καὶ ἀνέβαινον τοῦ Ἡρακλείου
ἐπέκεινα ὡς ἑκκαίδεκα σταδίους, ἔνθα ἡ Τριπυργία
11 καλεῖται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Γοργώπας, ἐβοή-
θει μετά τε τῶν Αἰγινητῶν καὶ σὺν τοῖς τῶν νεῶν
ἐπιβάταις καὶ Σπαρτιατῶν οἳ ἔτυχον αὐτόθι
παρόντες ὀκτώ. καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πληρωμάτων δὲ
τῶν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκήρυξε βοηθεῖν ὅσοι ἐλεύθεροι
εἶεν· ὥστ' ἐβοήθουν καὶ τούτων πολλοί, ὅ τι
12 ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος ὅπλον ἔχων. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήλλα-
ξαν οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐξανίστανται οἱ περὶ
τὸν Χαβρίαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἠκόντιζον καὶ ἔβαλλον.
ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἀποβεβηκότες
ὁπλῖται. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι, ἅτε οὐδενὸς ἀθρόου
ὄντος, ταχὺ ἀπέθανον, ὧν ἦν Γοργώπας τε καὶ
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτοι ἔπεσον, ἐτρά-
πησαν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ ἀπέθανον Αἰγινητῶν
μὲν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ξένοι δὲ καὶ
μέτοικοι καὶ ναῦται καταδεδραμηκότες οὐκ ἐλάτ-

captured four triremes, and taking them in tow, carried them off to Aegina; but the other ships of the Athenians made their escape to Piraeus. 388 B.C.

After this Chabrias set out on a voyage to Cyprus to aid Euagoras, with eight hundred peltasts and ten triremes, to which force he had also added more ships and a body of hoplites obtained from Athens; and during the night he himself, with his peltasts, landed in Aegina and set an ambush in a hollow place beyond the Heracleium. Then at daybreak, just as had been agreed, the hoplites of the Athenians came, under the command of Demaenetus, and ascended to a point about sixteen stadia beyond the Heracleium, where the so-called Tripyrgia[1] is. On hearing of this Gorgopas sallied forth to the rescue with the Aeginetans, the marines from his ships, and eight Spartiatae who chanced to be there. He also made proclamation that all freemen among the crews of the ships should come with him, so that many of these also joined the relief force, each man with whatever weapon he could get. Now when those in the van had passed by the ambush, Chabrias and his followers rose up and immediately threw javelins and stones upon the enemy. And the hoplites who had disembarked from the ships also advanced upon them. Then those in the van, inasmuch as they were not a compact mass, were quickly killed, among whom were Gorgopas and the Lacedaemonians; and when these had fallen the rest also were put to flight. And there fell about one hundred and fifty Aeginetans and not less than two hundred foreigners, aliens resident in Aegina, and sailors who

[1] The reference is uncertain.

13 τους διακοσίων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι,
ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἔπλεον τὴν θάλατταν. οὐδὲ
γὰρ τῷ Ἐτεονίκῳ ἤθελον οἱ ναῦται καίπερ ἀναγ-
κάζοντι ἐμβάλλειν, ἐπεὶ μισθὸν οὐκ ἐδίδου.
Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τελευτίαν
αὖ[1] ἐκπέμπουσιν ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναῦς ναύαρχον.
ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν ἥκοντα οἱ ναῦται, ὑπερή-
σθησαν. ὁ δ' αὐτοὺς συγκαλέσας εἶπε τοιάδε·
14 Ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἐγὼ χρήματα μὲν οὐκ
ἔχων ἥκω· ἐὰν μέντοι θεὸς ἐθέλῃ καὶ ὑμεῖς
συμπροθυμῆσθε, πειράσομαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑμῖν
ὡς πλεῖστα πορίζειν. εὖ δ' ἴστε, ἐγὼ ὅταν ὑμῶν
ἄρχω, εὔχομαί τε οὐδὲν ἧττον ζῆν ὑμᾶς ἢ καὶ
ἐμαυτόν, τά τ' ἐπιτήδεια θαυμάσαιτε μὲν ἂν ἴσως,
εἰ φαίην βούλεσθαι ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμὲ ἔχειν·
ἐγὼ δὲ νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς δεξαίμην ἂν αὐτὸς μᾶλλον
δύο ἡμέρας ἄσιτος ἢ ὑμᾶς μίαν γενέσθαι· ἥ γε
μὴν θύρα ἡ ἐμὴ ἀνέῳκτο μὲν δήπου καὶ πρόσθεν
εἰσιέναι τῷ δεομένῳ τι ἐμοῦ, ἀνεῴξεται δὲ καὶ νῦν.
15 ὥστε ὅταν ὑμεῖς πλήρη ἔχητε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, τότε
καὶ ἐμὲ ὄψεσθε ἀφθονώτερον διαιτώμενον· ἂν δὲ
ἀνεχόμενόν με ὁρᾶτε καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη καὶ
ἀγρυπνίαν, οἴεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πάντα καρ-
τερεῖν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ τούτων κελεύω ὑμᾶς
ποιεῖν ἵνα ἀνιᾶσθε, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐκ τούτων ἀγαθόν τι
16 λαμβάνητε. καὶ ἡ πόλις δέ τοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες
στρατιῶται, ἡ ἡμετέρα, ἣ δοκεῖ εὐδαίμων εἶναι,
εὖ ἴστε ὅτι τἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλὰ ἐκτήσατο οὐ

[1] After αὖ the MSS. read ἐπὶ ταύτῃ: Kel. brackets.

had hurriedly rushed ashore. After this the Athenians sailed the sea just as in time of peace, for the Lacedaemonian sailors refused to row for Eteonicus, even though he tried to compel them to do so, because he did not give them pay. 388 B.C.

After this the Lacedaemonians sent out Teleutias again to take command of these ships as admiral. And when the sailors saw that he had come, they were delighted beyond measure. And he called them together and spoke as follows: "Fellow soldiers, I have come without money; yet if God be willing and you perform your part zealously, I shall endeavour to supply you with provisions in the greatest abundance. And be well assured that, whenever I am in command of you, I pray just as earnestly for your lives as for my own. As to provisions, you would be surprised, perhaps, if I should say that I am more desirous of your being supplied than of being supplied myself; indeed, by the gods, I should prefer to go without food myself for two days than to have you go without for one. And just as my door was open in days past, as you know, for him to enter who had any request to make of me, so likewise it shall be open now. Therefore, when you have provisions in abundance, then you will see me also living bounteously; but if you see me submitting to cold and heat and night-watching, expect to endure all these things yourselves. For I do not bid you do any of these things that you may suffer discomfort, but that from them you may gain something good. And Sparta too," he added, "that Sparta of ours, fellow soldiers, which is accounted so prosperous—she, be well assured, won her prosperity and her

ῥᾳθυμοῦσα, ἀλλὰ ἐθέλουσα καὶ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυ
νεύειν, ὁπότε δέοι. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἦτε μὲν καὶ
πρότερον, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶδα, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί· νῦν δὲ
πειρᾶσθαι χρὴ ἔτι ἀμείνους γίγνεσθαι, ἵν' ἡδέως
17 μὲν ξυμπονῶμεν, ἡδέως δὲ ξυνευδαιμονῶμεν. τί
γὰρ ἥδιον ἢ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων κολακεύειν μήτε
Ἕλληνα μήτε βάρβαρον ἕνεκα μισθοῦ, ἀλλ'
ἑαυτοῖς ἱκανοὺς εἶναι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζεσθαι,
καὶ ταῦτα ὅθενπερ κάλλιστον; ἡ γάρ τοι ἐν
πολέμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφθονία εὖ ἴστε ὅτι
ἅμα τροφήν τε καὶ εὔκλειαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
παρέχεται.

18 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἀνεβόησαν
παραγγέλλειν ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ, ὡς σφῶν ὑπηρετησόν-
των. ὁ δὲ τεθυμένος ἐτύγχανεν· εἶπε δέ· Ἄγετε,
ὦ ἄνδρες, δειπνήσατε μὲν ἅπερ καὶ ὣς ἐμέλλετε·
προπαράσχεσθε δέ μοι[1] μιᾶς ἡμέρας σῖτον. ἔπειτα
δὲ ἥκετε ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς αὐτίκα μάλα, ὅπως πλεύ-
σωμεν ἔνθα θεὸς ἐθέλει, ἐν καιρῷ ἀφιξόμενοι.
19 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθον, ἐμβιβασάμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς
ναῦς ἔπλει τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων, τοτὲ μὲν ἀναπαύων καὶ παραγγέλλων ἀπο-
κοιμᾶσθαι, τοτὲ δὲ κώπαις προσκομιζόμενος. εἰ
δέ τις ὑπολαμβάνει ὡς ἀφρόνως ἔπλει δώδεκα
τριήρεις ἔχων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ναῦς κεκτημένους, ἐν-
20 νοησάτω τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν αὐτοῦ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ
ἐνόμισεν ἀμελέστερον μὲν ἔχειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
περὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ναυτικὸν Γοργώπα ἀπολω-
λότος· εἰ δὲ καὶ εἶεν τριήρεις ὁρμοῦσαι, ἀσφαλέ-

[1] Kel., following Hartman, regards the text of the preceding line (ἅπερ . . . μοι) as corrupt.

glory, not by careless idling, but by being willing 388 B.C. to undergo both toils and dangers whenever there was need. Now you in like manner were in former days, as I know, good men; but now you must strive to prove yourselves even better men, in order that, just as we gladly undergo toils together, so we may gladly enjoy good fortune together. For what greater gladness can there be than to have to flatter no one in the world, Greek or barbarian, for the sake of pay, but to be able to provide supplies for oneself, and what is more, from the most honourable source? For be well assured that abundance gained in war from the enemy yields not merely sustenance, but at the same time fair fame among all men."

Thus he spoke, and they all set up a shout, bidding him give whatever order was needful, in the assurance that they would obey. Now he chanced to have finished sacrificing, and he said: "Come, my men, get dinner, just as you were intending to do anyway; and provide yourselves, I beg you, with food for one day. Then come to the ships right speedily, that we may sail to the place where God wills that we go, and may arrive in good time." And when they had come he embarked them upon the ships and sailed during the night to the harbour of the Athenians, now letting the men rest and bidding them get a little sleep, and now setting them at the oars. But if anyone supposes that it was madness for him to sail with twelve triremes against men who possessed many ships, let such a one consider Teleutias' calculations. He conceived that the Athenians were more careless about their fleet in the harbour now that Gorgopas was dead; and even if there were triremes at anchor there,

στερον ἡγήσατο ἐπ' εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθήνησιν οὔσας
πλεῦσαι ἢ ἄλλοθι δέκα. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἔξω ᾔδει
ὅτι κατὰ ναῦν ἔμελλον οἱ ναῦται σκηνήσειν, τῶν
δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐγίγνωσκεν ὅτι οἱ μὲν τριήραρχοι
οἴκοι καθευδήσοιεν, οἱ δὲ ναῦται ἄλλος ἄλλῃ σκη-
21 νήσοιεν. ἔπλει μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διανοηθείς· ἐπειδὴ
δὲ ἀπεῖχε πέντε ἢ ἓξ στάδια τοῦ λιμένος, ἡσυ-
χίαν εἶχε καὶ ἀνέπαυεν. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπέφαινεν,
ἡγεῖτο· οἱ δὲ ἐπηκολούθουν. καὶ καταδύειν μὲν
οὐδὲν εἴα στρογγύλον πλοῖον οὐδὲ λυμαίνεσθαι
ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ναυσίν· εἰ δέ που τριήρη ἴδοιεν ὁρ-
μοῦσαν, ταύτην πειρᾶσθαι ἄπλουν ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ
φορτηγικὰ πλοῖα καὶ γέμοντα ἀναδουμένους ἄγειν
ἔξω, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἐμβαίνοντας ὅπου δύ-
ναιντο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λαμβάνειν. ἦσαν δέ τινες
οἳ καὶ ἐκπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸ Δεῖγμα[1] ἐμπόρους τέ
τινας καὶ ναυκλήρους συναρπάσαντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς
22 εἰσήνεγκαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπεποιήκει. τῶν δὲ
Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν αἰσθόμενοι ἔνδοθεν ἔθεον ἔξω,
σκεψόμενοι τίς ἡ κραυγή, οἱ δὲ ἔξωθεν οἴκαδε ἐπὶ
τὰ ὅπλα, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἄστυ ἀγγελοῦντες. πάντες
δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τότε ἐβοήθησαν καὶ ὁπλῖται καὶ
23 ἱππεῖς, ὡς τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἑαλωκότος. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν
πλοῖα ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Αἴγιναν, καὶ τῶν τριήρων
τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας συναπαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε, ταῖς δὲ
ἄλλαις παραπλέων παρὰ τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἅτε ἐκ
τοῦ λιμένος πλέων, πολλὰ καὶ ἁλιευτικὰ ἔλαβε

---

[1] A quay where merchants displayed (*cp.* δείκνυμι) their wares.

he believed that it was safer to sail against twenty ships which were at Athens than against ten elsewhere. 388 B.C. For in the case of ships that were abroad he knew that the sailors would be quartered on board their several ships, while with ships at Athens he was aware that the captains would be sleeping at home and the sailors quartered here and there. These, then, were the considerations which he had weighed before he sailed; and when he was distant from the harbour five or six stadia, he remained quiet and let his men rest. Then, as day was dawning, he led on and they followed. Now he forbade them to sink or harm any merchant vessel with their own ships; but if they saw a trireme at anchor anywhere, he ordered them to try to make her unseaworthy, and furthermore, to bring out in tow the merchant ships which were loaded, and to board the larger ones wherever they could and take off their people. Indeed, there were some of his men who even leaped ashore on to the Deigma,[1] seized merchants and owners of trading vessels, and carried them aboard the ships. He, then, succeeded in accomplishing these things. But as for the Athenians, some of them, upon hearing the uproar, ran from their houses into the streets to see what the shouting meant, others ran from the streets to their homes to get their weapons, and still others to the city to carry the news. Then all the Athenians, hoplites and horsemen, rushed to the rescue, thinking that Piraeus had been captured. But Teleutias sent off the captured merchant vessels to Aegina and gave orders that three or four of the triremes should convoy them thither, while with the rest of the triremes he coasted along the shore of Attica and, inasmuch as he was sailing out of the harbour, captured great numbers of fishing craft and ferry-

καὶ πορθμεῖα ἀνθρώπων μεστά, καταπλέοντα ἀπὸ νήσων. ἐπὶ δὲ Σούνιον ἐλθὼν καὶ ὁλκάδας γεμούσας τὰς μέν τινας σίτου, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐμπολῆς, ἔλαβε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλευσεν
24 εἰς Αἴγιναν. καὶ ἀποδόμενος τὰ λάφυρα μηνὸς μισθὸν προέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ περιπλέων ἐλάμβανεν ὅ τι ἐδύνατο. καὶ ταῦτα ποιῶν πλήρεις τε τὰς ναῦς ἔτρεφε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶχεν ἡδέως καὶ ταχέως ὑπηρετοῦντας.

25 Ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας κατέβη μὲν μετὰ Τιριβάζου διαπεπραγμένος συμμαχεῖν βασιλέα, εἰ μὴ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι χρῆσθαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ ᾗ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν. ὡς δ' ἤκουσε Νικόλοχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὑπὸ Ἰφικράτους καὶ Διοτίμου, πεζῇ ᾤχετο εἰς Ἄβυδον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τὸ ναυτικὸν νυκτὸς ἀνήγετο, διασπείρας λόγον ὡς μεταπεμπομένων τῶν Καλχηδονίων· ὁρμισάμενος δὲ ἐν Περκώτῃ ἡσυ-
26 χίαν εἶχεν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Δημαίνετον καὶ Διονύσιον καὶ Λεόντιχον καὶ Φανίαν ἐδίωκον αὐτὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Προκοννήσου· ὁ δ', ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνοι παρέπλευσαν, ὑποστρέψας εἰς Ἄβυδον ἀφίκετο· ἠκηκόει γὰρ ὅτι προσπλέοι Πολύξενος ἄγων τὰς ἀπὸ Συρακουσῶν καὶ Ἰταλίας ναῦς εἴκοσιν ὅπως ἀναλάβοι καὶ ταύτας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὁ Κολλυτεὺς ἔχων ναῦς ὀκτὼ ἔπλει ἀπὸ Θράκης, βουλόμενος ταῖς ἄλλαις Ἀττικαῖς ναυσὶ συμ-

boats full of people as they were sailing in from the islands. And on coming to Sunium he captured trading vessels also, some of them full of corn, others of merchandise. Having done all these things he sailed back to Aegina, and when he had sold his booty he gave the soldiers a month's pay in advance. He likewise from that time forth cruised round and captured whatever he could. And by doing these things he maintained his ships with full complements of sailors, and kept his soldiers in a state of glad and prompt obedience. 388 B.C.

And now Antalcidas returned with Tiribazus from the Persian capital, having effected an agreement that the King should be an ally of the Lacedaemonians if the Athenians and their allies refused to accept the peace which he himself directed them to accept. But when Antalcidas heard that Nicolochus with his ships was being blockaded at Abydus by Iphicrates and Diotimus, he went overland to Abydus. And from there he set out during the night with the fleet, after spreading a report that the Calchedonians were sending for him; then he came to anchor at Percote and remained quiet there. Now the Athenian forces under Demaenetus, Dionysius, Leontichus, and Phanias, upon learning of his departure, followed after him in the direction of Proconnesus; and when they had sailed past him, Antalcidas turned about and came back to Abydus, for he had heard that Polyxenus was approaching with the ships from Syracuse and Italy, twenty in number, and he wished to join these also to his command. But soon after this Thrasybulus, of the deme Collytus, came sailing from Thrace with eight ships, desiring to unite with the other Athenian 387 B.C.

27 μεῖξαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ οἱ σκοποὶ ἐσήμηναν ὅτι προσπλέοιεν τριήρεις ὀκτώ, ἐμβιβάσας τοὺς ναύτας εἰς δώδεκα ναῦς τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας, καὶ προσπληρώσασθαι κελεύσας, εἴ τις ἐνεδεῖτο, ἐκ τῶν καταλειπομένων, ἐνήδρευεν ὡς ἐδύνατο ἀφανέστατα. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέπλεον, ἐδίωκεν· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἔφευγον. τὰς μὲν οὖν βραδύτατα πλεούσας ταῖς ἄριστα πλεούσαις ταχὺ κατειλήφει· παραγγείλας δὲ τοῖς πρωτόπλοις τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ μὴ ἐμβαλεῖν ταῖς ὑστάταις, ἐδίωκε τὰς προεχούσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτας ἔλαβεν, ἰδόντες οἱ ὕστεροι ἁλισκομένους σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς πρόπλους ὑπ' ἀθυμίας καὶ πρὸς τῶν βραδυτέρων
28 ἡλίσκοντο· ὥσθ' ἥλωσαν ἅπασαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον αὐτῷ αἵ τε ἐκ Συρακουσῶν νῆες εἴκοσιν, ἦλθον δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας, ὅσης ἐγκρατὴς ἦν Τιρίβαζος, συνεπληρώθησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀριοβαρζάνους, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ξένος ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνει, ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἤδη ἀνακεκλημένος ᾤχετο ἄνω, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἔγημε τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα· ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας γενομέναις ταῖς πάσαις ναυσὶ πλείοσιν ἢ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐκράτει τῆς θαλάττης· ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ναῦς Ἀθήναζε μὲν ἐκώλυε καταπλεῖν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχους κατῆ-
29 γεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁρῶντες μὲν πολλὰς τὰς πολεμίας ναῦς, φοβούμενοι δὲ μὴ ὡς πρότερον καταπολεμηθείησαν, συμμάχου Λακεδαιμονίοις βασιλέως γεγενημένου, πολιορκούμενοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς

ships. And Antalcidas, when his scouts signalled to him that eight triremes were approaching, embarked the sailors on twelve of his fastest ships, gave orders that if anyone was lacking men, he should fill up his crew from the ships left behind, and lay in wait with the utmost possible concealment. Then, as the enemy were sailing past him, he pursued; and they, upon seeing him, fled. Now he speedily succeeded in overhauling the slowest of the enemy's ships with his fastest; but giving orders to the leaders of his own fleet not to attack the hindmost ships, he continued the pursuit of those which were ahead. And when he had captured them, those who were behind, upon seeing that the leaders of their fleet were being taken, out of discouragement were themselves taken even by the slower ships of Antalcidas; and the result was that all the ships were captured. And after the twenty ships from Syracuse had come and joined Antalcidas, and the ships from all that part of Ionia of which Tiribazus was master had also come, and more still had been manned from the territory of Ariobarzanes—for Antalcidas was an old friend of Ariobarzanes, and Pharnabazus had at this time gone up to the capital in response to a summons, this being the occasion when he married the King's daughter—then Antalcidas, the whole number of his ships amounting to more than eighty, was master of the sea, so that he also prevented the ships from the Pontus from sailing to Athens, and compelled them to sail to the ports of his people's allies. The Athenians, therefore, seeing that the enemy's ships were many, fearing that they might be completely subdued, as they had been before, now that the King had become an ally of the Lacedaemonians, and 387 B.C.

Αἰγίνης ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν, διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἰσχυρῶς
ἐπεθύμουν τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
φρουροῦντες μόρᾳ μὲν ἐν Λεχαίῳ, μόρᾳ δ' ἐν
Ὀρχομενῷ, φυλάττοντες δὲ τὰς πόλεις, αἷς μὲν
ἐπίστευον, μὴ ἀπόλοιντο, αἷς δὲ ἠπίστουν, μὴ
ἀποσταῖεν, πράγματα δ' ἔχοντες καὶ παρέχοντες
περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον, χαλεπῶς ἔφερον τῷ πολέμῳ.
οἵ γε μὴν Ἀργεῖοι, εἰδότες φρουράν τε πεφα-
σμένην ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι ἡ τῶν
μηνῶν ὑποφορὰ οὐδὲν ἔτι σφᾶς ὠφελήσει, καὶ
30 οὗτοι εἰς τὴν εἰρήνην πρόθυμοι ἦσαν. ὥστ' ἐπεὶ
παρήγγειλεν ὁ Τιρίβαζος παρεῖναι τοὺς βουλο-
μένους ὑπακοῦσαι ἣν βασιλεὺς εἰρήνην καταπέμ-
ποι, ταχέως πάντες παρεγένοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλ-
θον, ἐπιδείξας ὁ Τιρίβαζος τὰ βασιλέως σημεῖα
ἀνεγίγνωσκε τὰ γεγραμμένα. εἶχε δὲ ὧδε.

31 Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεὺς νομίζει δίκαιον τὰς μὲν
ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῶν νήσων
Κλαζομενὰς καὶ Κύπρον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλλη-
νίδας πόλεις καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας αὐτονόμους
ἀφεῖναι πλὴν Λήμνου καὶ Ἴμβρου καὶ Σκύρου·
ταύτας δὲ ὥσπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι Ἀθηναίων.
ὁπότεροι δὲ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ δέχονται, τού-
τοις ἐγὼ πολεμήσω μετὰ τῶν ταῦτα[1] βουλομένων
καὶ πεζῇ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρή-
μασιν.

32 Ἀκούοντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων
πρέσβεις, ἀπήγγελλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι

[1] ταῦτα MSS.: ταὐτὰ Kel.

being beset by the raiding parties from Aegina, for these reasons were exceedingly desirous of peace. On the other hand the Lacedaemonians, what with maintaining a garrison of one regiment at Lechaeum and another at Orchomenus, keeping watch upon their allied states — those which they trusted, to prevent their being destroyed, and those which they distrusted, to prevent their revolting—and suffering and causing trouble around Corinth, were out of patience with the war. As for the Argives, knowing that the Lacedaemonian ban had been called out against them, and being aware that their plea of the sacred months[1] would no longer be of any help to them, they also were eager for peace. So that when Tiribazus ordered those to be present who desired to give ear to the peace which the King had sent down, all speedily presented themselves. And when they had come together, Tiribazus showed them the King's seal and then read the writing. It ran as follows: 387 B.C.

"King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia should belong to him, as well as Clazomenae and Cyprus among the islands, and that the other Greek cities, both small and great, should be left independent, except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; and these should belong, as of old, to the Athenians. But whichever of the two parties does not accept this peace, upon them I will make war, in company with those who desire this arrangement, both by land and by sea, with ships and with money."

Upon hearing these words the ambassadors from the various states reported them to their own several

[1] *cp.* IV. vii. 2 f. and note.

πόλεις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ὤμνυσαν ἐμπεδώσειν ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἠξίουν ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν ὀμνύναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔφη δέξασθαι τοὺς ὅρκους, ἐὰν μὴ ὀμνύωσιν, ὥσπερ τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα ἔλεγεν, αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ μικρὰν καὶ μεγάλην πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεσταλμένα σφίσι ταῦτ᾽ εἴη. Ἴτε νυν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, καὶ ἐρωτᾶτε· ἀπαγγέλλετε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτι εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσι ταῦτα, ἔκσπονδοι ἔσονται. οἱ μὲν
33 δὴ ᾤχοντο. ὁ δ᾽ Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν οὐκ ἔμελλεν, ἀλλὰ πείσας τοὺς ἐφόρους εὐθὺς ἐθύετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο τὰ διαβατήρια, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν διέπεμπε τῶν μὲν ἱππέων κατὰ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐπισπεύσοντας, διέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ξεναγοὺς εἰς τὰς πόλεις. πρὶν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁρμηθῆναι ἐκ Τεγέας, παρῆσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἀφιᾶσι τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους. καὶ οὕτω Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθον, Θηβαῖοι δ᾽ εἰς τὰς σπονδὰς εἰσελθεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν, αὐ-
34 τονόμους ἀφέντες τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις. οἱ δ᾽ αὖ Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἐξέπεμπον τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων φρουράν. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ τούτοις προεῖπε, τοῖς μέν, εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιεν τοὺς Ἀργείους, τοῖς δέ, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοιεν ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου, ὅτι πόλεμον ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ φοβηθέντων ἀμφοτέρων ἐξῆλθον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ αὐτὴ ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῆς ἡ

[1] Lacedaemonian officers who assembled and commanded the contingents of the allies.

states. And all the others swore that they would steadfastly observe these provisions, but the Thebans claimed the right to take the oath in the name of all the Boeotians. Agesilaus, however, refused to accept their oaths unless they swore, just as the King's writing directed, that every city, whether small or great, should be independent. But the ambassadors of the Thebans said that these were not the instructions which had been given them. "Go then," said Agesilaus, "and ask your people; and report to them this also, that if they do not so act, they will be shut out from the treaty." The Theban ambassadors accordingly departed. Agesilaus, however, on account of his hatred for the Thebans, did not delay, but after winning over the ephors proceeded at once to perform his sacrifices. And when the offering at the frontier proved favourable, upon his arrival at Tegea he sent horsemen hither and thither among the Perioeci to hasten their coming, and likewise sent mustering officers[1] to the various cities of the allies. But before he had set out from Tegea, the Thebans arrived with word that they would leave the cities independent. And so the Lacedaemonians returned home and the Thebans were forced to accede to the treaty, allowing the Boeotian cities to be independent. But the Corinthians, on the other hand, would not dismiss the garrison maintained in their city by the Argives. Agesilaus, however, made proclamation to these peoples also, saying to the Corinthians that if they did not dismiss the Argives, and to the Argives that if they did not depart from Corinth, he would make war upon them. And when, as a result of the fear which seized both peoples, the Argives departed 387 B.C.

τῶν Κορινθίων πόλις ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς καὶ
οἱ μεταίτιοι τοῦ ἔργου αὐτοὶ γνόντες ἀπῆλθον ἐκ
τῆς Κορίνθου· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πολῖται ἑκόντες[1] κατε-
δέχοντο τοὺς πρόσθεν φεύγοντας.

35 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη καὶ ὠμωμόκεσαν αἱ
πόλεις ἐμμενεῖν τῇ[2] εἰρήνῃ ἣν κατέπεμψε βασι-
λεύς, ἐκ τούτου διελύθη μὲν τὰ πεζικά, διελύθη
δὲ καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ στρατεύματα. Λακεδαιμονί-
οις μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμά-
χοις οὕτω μετὰ τὸν ὕστερον πόλεμον τῆς
καθαιρέσεως τῶν Ἀθήνησι τειχῶν αὕτη πρώ-
36 τη εἰρήνη ἐγένετο. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον
ἀντιρρόπως τοῖς ἐναντίοις πράττοντες οἱ Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι πολὺ ἐπικυδέστεροι ἐγένοντο ἐκ τῆς
ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου εἰρήνης καλουμένης. προστάται
γὰρ γενόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλέως καταπεμφθείσης
εἰρήνης καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν ταῖς πόλεσι πράττον-
τες, προσέλαβον μὲν σύμμαχον Κόρινθον, αὐτο-
νόμους δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων τὰς Βοιωτίδας
πόλεις ἐποίησαν, οὗπερ πάλαι ἐπεθύμουν, ἔπαυ-
σαν δὲ καὶ Ἀργείους Κόρινθον σφετεριζομένους,
φρουρὰν φήναντες ἐπ' αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ ἐξίοιεν ἐκ
Κορίνθου.

II. Τούτων δὲ προκεχωρηκότων ὡς ἐβούλοντο, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπέκειντο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐμενέστεροι ἦσαν ἢ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, τούτους κολάσαι καὶ κατα-

[1] ἑκόντες MSS.: ἄκοντες Kel.
[2] τῇ MSS. except B: ἐν τῇ Kel. with B.

and the state of the Corinthians regained its self-government, the authors of the massacre[1] and those who shared the responsibility for the deed withdrew of their own accord from Corinth, while the rest of the citizens willingly received back the former exiles. 387 B.

When these things had been accomplished and the states had sworn that they would abide by the treaty which the King had proposed, thereupon the armies were disbanded and the naval armaments were likewise disbanded. Thus it was that this peace was established between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians and their allies, the first since the outbreak of the war which followed the destruction of the walls of Athens. Now while in the war the Lacedaemonians were no more than holding their own with their antagonists, yet as a result of the so-called Peace of Antalcidas they gained a far more distinguished position. For by having become champions of the treaty proposed by the King and by establishing the independence of the cities they gained an additional ally in Corinth, made the Boeotian cities independent of the Thebans, a thing which they had long desired, and also put a stop to the doings of the Argives in appropriating Corinth as their own, by threatening to call out the ban against them if they did not depart from Corinth.

II. Since in all this matters had proceeded as 386 B.C. they desired, the Lacedaemonians resolved, in the case of all among their allies who had been hostile during the war and more favourably inclined toward the enemy than toward Lacedaemon, to chastise them and put them in such a situation that they

[1] *cp.* IV. iv. 2.

σκευάσαι ὡς μὴ δύναιντο ἀπιστεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς τὸ τεῖχος περιαιρεῖν, λέγοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσειαν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς μὴ σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις
2 γενέσθαι. αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ ὡς σῖτον ἐξέπεμπον τοῖς Ἀργείοις σφῶν αὐτοῖς πολεμούντων, καὶ ὡς ἔστι μὲν ὅτε οὐδὲ συστρατεύοιεν ἐκεχειρίαν προφασιζόμενοι, ὁπότε δὲ καὶ ἀκολουθοῖεν, ὡς κακῶς συστρατεύοιεν. ἔτι δὲ γιγνώσκειν ἔφασαν φθονοῦντας μὲν αὐτούς, εἴ τι σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν γίγνοιτο, ἐφηδομένους δ', εἴ τις συμφορὰ προσπίπτοι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐξεληλυθέναι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει αἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχην τριακονταετεῖς γενόμεναι.
3 ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἤθελον καθαιρεῖν τὰ τείχη, φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς.

Ἀγησίλαος μὲν οὖν ἐδεήθη τῆς πόλεως ἀφεῖναι ἑαυτὸν ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας, λέγων ὅτι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἡ τῶν Μαντινέων πόλις πολλὰ ὑπηρετήκοι ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Μεσσήνην πολέμοις· Ἀγησίπολις δὲ ἐξήγαγε τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ μάλα Παυσανίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ φιλικῶς ἔχοντος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ τοῦ δήμου προστάτας.
4 ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλε, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐδῄου. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδ' οὕτω καθῄρουν τὰ τείχη, τάφρον ὤρυττε κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς μὲν ἡμίσεσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν προκαθημένοις σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τῶν ταφρευόντων, τοῖς δ' ἡμίσεσιν

could not be disloyal. Firstly, therefore, they sent to the Mantineans and ordered them to tear down their wall, saying that they could not trust them in any other way not to take sides with their enemies. For they said they had noted not only that the Mantineans had been sending corn to the Argives when they themselves were making war upon that people, but also that sometimes, on the pretext of a holy truce, they had not served in the Lacedaemonian armies at all, and when they had fallen into line, had served badly. Furthermore, the Lacedaemonians said they were aware that they were envious if any good fortune came to them, and delighted if any disaster befel them.[1] It was also common talk that the thirty years' truce, concluded after the battle of Mantinea,[2] had expired this year, so far as the Mantineans were concerned. When, accordingly, they now refused to tear down their walls, the Lacedaemonians called out the ban against them. 386 B.C.

Now Agesilaus requested the state to relieve him of the command of this expedition, saying that the city of the Mantineans had rendered his father many services in the wars against Messene; Agesipolis, therefore, led forth the ban, even 385 B.C.
though his father, Pausanias,[3] was on exceedingly friendly terms with the leaders of the popular party in Mantinea. And when he had entered Mantinean territory, he first laid waste the land; but since even then they would not tear down the walls, he proceeded to dig a trench round about the city, with one half of the soldiers sitting under arms in front of the diggers to protect them, and the other half

[1] *cp.* IV. v. 18. [2] In 418 B.C.

[3] Who was still living, though deposed and in exile. *cp.* III. v. 25.

ἐργαζομένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξείργαστο ἡ τάφρος, ἀσφαλῶς ἤδη κύκλῳ τεῖχος περὶ τὴν πόλιν ᾠκοδόμησεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ὁ σῖτος ἐν τῇ πόλει πολὺς ἐνείη, εὐετηρίας γενομένης τῷ πρόσθεν ἔτει, καὶ νομίσας χαλεπὸν ἔσεσθαι, εἰ δεήσει πολὺν χρόνον τρύχειν στρατείαις τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἀπέχωσε τὸν ῥέοντα ποταμὸν διὰ τῆς πόλεως μάλ' ὄντα εὐμεγέθη.
5 ἐμφραχθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀπορροίας ᾔρετο τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπέρ τε τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει θεμελίων. βρεχομένων δὲ τῶν κάτω πλίνθων καὶ προδιδουσῶν τὰς ἄνω, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐρρήγνυτο τὸ τεῖχος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκλίνετο. οἱ δὲ χρόνον μέν τινα ξύλα ἀντήρειδον καὶ ἐμηχανῶντο ὡς μὴ πίπτοι ὁ πύργος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡττῶντο τοῦ ὕδατος, δείσαντες μὴ πεσόντος πῃ τοῦ κύκλῳ τείχους δοριάλωτοι γένοιντο, ὡμολόγουν περιαιρήσειν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἔφασαν σπείσεσθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ διοικιοῖντο κατὰ κώμας. οἱ δ' αὖ νομίσαντες ἀνάγκην εἶναι, συνέφασαν καὶ
6 ταῦτα ποιήσειν. οἰομένων δὲ ἀποθανεῖσθαι τῶν ἀργολιζόντων καὶ τῶν τοῦ δήμου προστατῶν, διεπράξατο ὁ πατὴρ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγησιπόλιδος ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι ἀπαλλαττομένοις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἑξήκοντα οὖσι. καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἔχοντες τὰ δόρατα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔστασαν, θεώμενοι τοὺς ἐξιόντας. καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτοὺς ὅμως ἀπεί-

working. And after the trench had been completed, he then without risk built a wall round about the city. Learning, however, that the corn supply in the city was abundant, since there had been a good harvest the previous year, and thinking that it would be a grievous thing if it should prove necessary to burden both his state and its allies for a long period with campaigns, he dammed up the river which flowed through the city; and it was a very large one. Its outflow being thus checked, the water rose not only above the foundations of the houses but above those of the city wall. Then as the lower bricks became soaked and failed to support those above them, the wall began first to crack and then to give way. And the Mantineans for a time tried to prop it up with timbers, and sought contrivances to prevent the tower from falling; but when they were no longer able to resist the water, being seized with the fear that if any portion of the encircling wall fell they would become prisoners of war, they offered to agree to tear down their walls. The Lacedaemonians, however, said that they would not make peace with them except on condition that they should also dwell apart in villages. And they for their part, coming to the conclusion that it was necessary, agreed that they would do this also. Now the partisans of Argos and the leaders of the popular party expected that they would be put to death, but the father of Agesipolis obtained from him the promise that safety should be granted them as they departed from the city, being sixty in number. So on both sides of the road, beginning at the city gates, stood the Lacedaemonians with their spears, watching those who were coming out. And 385 B.C.

χοντο αὐτῶν ῥᾷον ἢ οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν Μαντινέων. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἰρήσθω μέγα τεκμήριον πειθαρχίας.

7 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καθῃρέθη μὲν τὸ τεῖχος, διῳκίσθη δ' ἡ Μαντίνεια τετραχῇ, καθάπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ᾤκουν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἤχθοντο, ὅτι τὰς μὲν ὑπαρχούσας οἰκίας ἔδει καθαιρεῖν, ἄλλας δὲ οἰκοδομεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς οὐσίας ἐγγύτερον μὲν ᾤκουν τῶν χωρίων ὄντων αὐτοῖς περὶ τὰς κώμας, ἀριστοκρατίᾳ δ' ἐχρῶντο, ἀπηλλαγμένοι δ' ἦσαν τῶν βαρέων δημαγωγῶν, ἥδοντο τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. καὶ ἔπεμπον μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ καθ' ἕν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κώμην ἑκάστην ξεναγόν. συνεστρατεύοντο δ' ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν πολὺ προθυμότερον ἢ ὅτε ἐδημοκρατοῦντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Μαντινείας οὕτω διεπέπρακτο, σοφωτέρων γενομένων ταύτῃ γε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὴ διὰ τειχῶν ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι.

8 Οἱ δ' ἐκ Φλειοῦντος φεύγοντες αἰσθανόμενοι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπισκοποῦντας τῶν συμμάχων ὁποῖοί τινες ἕκαστοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ αὐτοῖς ἐγεγένηντο, καιρὸν ἡγησάμενοι, ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἐδίδασκον ὡς ἕως μὲν σφεῖς οἴκοι ἦσαν, ἐδέχετό τε ἡ πόλις τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ὅποι ἡγοῖντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφᾶς[1] ἐξέβαλον, ὡς ἕπεσθαι μὲν οὐδαμοῦ ἐθέλοιεν, μόνους δὲ πάντων

[1] After σφᾶς the MSS. have αὐτοὶ (or αὐτοὺς): Kel. brackets, following Bisschop.

although they hated them, nevertheless they kept their hands off them more easily than did the Mantineans belonging to the aristocratic party. Let this, then, stand recorded as a striking example of good discipline. 386 B.C.

After this the wall was torn down and Mantinea was divided into four separate villages, just as the people had dwelt in ancient times. And at first they were displeased, because they were compelled to tear down the houses which they had and to build others; but the owners of the landed property, since they not only dwelt nearer to their estates, which were round about the villages, but also enjoyed an aristocratic government and were rid of the troublesome demagogues, were pleased with what had been done. And the Lacedaemonians sent mustering officers to them, not singly, but one for each village. Moreover, they came from their villages for service in the Lacedaemonian army far more zealously than when they were under a democratic government. Thus ended the affair of the Mantineans, whereby men were made wiser in this point at least—not to let a river run through city walls.

And now the exiles from Phlius, as they observed 384 B.C.
that the Lacedaemonians were investigating to see what sort of friends their several allies had proved to be to them during the war, thinking that it was an opportune time, proceeded to Lacedaemon and set forth that so long as they were at home in Phlius, the city had received the Lacedaemonians within its walls, and its people had gone with them on their campaigns wherever they led the way; but that after the Phliasians had driven them into exile, they had declined to follow anywhere, and had refused to

ἀνθρώπων Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ δέχοιντο εἴσω τῶν
9 πυλῶν. ἀκούσασιν οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς ἐφόροις ἄξιον ἔδοξεν ἐπιστροφῆς εἶναι. καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὴν τῶν Φλειασίων πόλιν ἔλεγον ὡς φίλοι μὲν οἱ φυγάδες τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων πόλει εἶεν, ἀδικοῦντες δ' οὐδὲν φεύγοιεν. ἀξιοῦν δ' ἔφασαν μὴ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἑκόντων διαπράξασθαι κατελθεῖν αὐτούς. ἃ δὴ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Φλειάσιοι ἔδεισαν μὴ εἰ στρατεύσαιντο ἐπ' αὐτούς, τῶν ἔνδοθεν παρείησάν τινες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ γὰρ συγγενεῖς πολλοὶ ἔνδον ἦσαν τῶν φευγόντων καὶ ἄλλως εὐμενεῖς, καὶ οἷα δὴ ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι νεωτέρων τινὲς ἐπιθυμοῦντες
10 πραγμάτων κατάγειν ἐβούλοντο τὴν φυγήν. τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ φοβηθέντες, ἐψηφίσαντο καταδέχεσθαι τοὺς φυγάδας, καὶ ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀποδοῦναι τὰ ἐμφανῆ κτήματα, τοὺς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων πριαμένους ἐκ δημοσίου τὴν τιμὴν ἀπολαβεῖν· εἰ δέ τι ἀμφίλογον πρὸς ἀλλήλους γίγνοιτο, δίκῃ διακριθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὖ περὶ τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπέπρακτο.

11 Ἐξ Ἀκάνθου δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας, αἵπερ μέγισται τῶν περὶ Ὄλυνθον πόλεων, πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ ἔφοροι ὧν ἕνεκα ἧκον, προσήγαγον αὐτοὺς πρός τε τὴν
12 ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους. ἔνθα δὴ Κλειγένης Ἀκάνθιος ἔλεξεν· Ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, οἰόμεθα λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς πρᾶγμα

receive the Lacedaemonians—and them alone of all 384 B.C.
men—within their gates. When the ephors heard these things, they decided that the matter deserved attention. Accordingly they sent to the city of the Phliasians and said that the exiles were friends of the Lacedaemonian state and had been exiled for no wrong-doing. They said further that they deemed it proper to effect their return from banishment, not by compulsion, but by voluntary consent of the Phliasians. Upon hearing this the Phliasians conceived the fear that if the Lacedaemonians made an expedition against them, some of the people within the walls would let them into the city. For not only were there many kinsmen of the exiles in the city, and people who were friendly to them for other reasons, but also, as is indeed usual in most cities, some desired a change of government and therefore wanted to bring back the exiles. On account, then, of such fears, the Phliasians voted to take back the exiles and to restore to them their undisputed property, those who had purchased such property to recover the price of it from the public treasury; and if any dispute should arise in any case between these purchasers and the exiles, it was to be settled by legal process. Thus ended, in its turn, this incident of the Phliasian exiles at that time.

Then there came ambassadors to Lacedaemon from 383 B.C.
Acanthus and Apollonia, which are the largest of the cities in the neighbourhood of Olynthus. And when the ephors heard with what object they had come, they brought them before the Lacedaemonian assembly and the allies. Thereupon Cleigenes of Acanthus spoke as follows: "Men of Lacedaemon and of the allied states, we think you are unaware that

μέγα φυόμενον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τῶν
ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης μεγίστη πόλις Ὄλυνθος σχεδὸν πάν-
τες ἐπίστασθε. οὗτοι τῶν πόλεων προσηγάγοντο
ἐφ᾽ ᾧτε νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ συμπολι-
τεύειν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν μειζόνων προσέλαβόν
τινας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ τὰς τῆς
Μακεδονίας πόλεις ἐλευθεροῦν ἀπὸ Ἀμύντου τοῦ
13 Μακεδόνων βασιλέως. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσήκουσαν αἱ
ἐγγύτατα αὐτῶν, ταχὺ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς πόρρω καὶ
μείζους ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ κατελίπομεν ἡμεῖς ἔχον-
τας ἤδη ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ Πέλλαν, ἥπερ
μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων· καὶ Ἀμύνταν
δὲ ᾐσθανόμεθα ἀποχωροῦντά τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων
καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκπεπτωκότα ἤδη ἐκ πάσης Μακε-
δονίας. πέμψαντες δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς
Ἀπολλωνιάτας οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι προεῖπον ἡμῖν ὅτι εἰ
μὴ παρεσόμεθα συστρατευσόμενοι, ἐκεῖνοι ἐφ᾽
ἡμᾶς ἴοιεν.
14 Ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, βουλό-
μεθα μὲν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι καὶ
αὐτοπολῖται εἶναι· εἰ μέντοι μὴ βοηθήσει τις,
ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμῖν μετ᾽ ἐκείνων γίγνεσθαι. καίτοι
νῦν γ᾽ ἤδη αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν ὁπλῖται μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους
ὀκτακοσίων,[1] πελτασταὶ δὲ πολὺ πλείους ἢ τοσοῦ-
τοι· ἱππεῖς γε μέντοι, ἐὰν καὶ ἡμεῖς μετ᾽ αὐτῶν
15 γενώμεθα, ἔσονται πλείους ἢ χίλιοι. κατελίπο-
μεν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεις ἤδη
αὐτόθι. ἠκούομεν δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις
ἐψηφισμένον εἴη συμπέμπειν πρέσβεις εἰς ταύτας

[1] ὀκτακοσίων: Kel. marks this word as corrupt. The number seems far too small.

a great danger is springing up in Greece. To be sure, 383 B.C.
almost all of you know that Olynthus is the largest of the cities on the coast of Thrace. These Olynthians, in the first place, attached to themselves some of the cities with the provision that all should live under the same laws and be fellow-citizens, and then they took over some of the larger cities also. After this they undertook, further, to free the cities of Macedonia from Amyntas, king of the Macedonians. And when the nearest of them gave their allegiance, they speedily proceeded against those which were farther away and larger; and we left them already in possession of a great number of Macedonian cities, including especially Pella, which is the largest of the cities in Macedonia. We also had information that Amyntas was withdrawing from his cities and had already been all but driven out of all Macedonia. The Olynthians, furthermore, sent to us and to the Apollonians and announced to us that if we did not present ourselves to join them in their campaigns, they would come against us.

"As for ourselves, however, men of Lacedaemon, we desire to live under the laws of our fathers and to be citizens of our own city; but unless some one shall come to our aid, it will be necessary for us also to be united with them. And yet at this moment they already have not less than eight hundred hoplites and far more than that number of peltasts; while as for horsemen, if we also become united with them, they will have more than one thousand. Again, we left ambassadors both of the Athenians and of the Boeotians already there. And we heard reports that the Olynthians on their side had voted to send ambassadors with them to these states in regard to

τὰς πόλεις περὶ συμμαχίας. καίτοι εἰ τοσαύτη δύναμις προσγενήσεται τῇ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἰσχύι, ὁρᾶτε, ἔφη, ὅπως μὴ οὐκέτι εὐμεταχείριστα ἔσται ἐκεῖνα ὑμῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ποτείδαιαν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης οὖσαν, νομίζετε καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς ταύτης πόλεις ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι αὐτῶν. τεκμήριον δ' ἔτι ἔστω ὑμῖν καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι ἰσχυρῶς αὗται αἱ πόλεις πεφόβηνται· μάλιστα γὰρ μισοῦσαι τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ὅμως οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν μεθ' ἡμῶν πρεσβείας πέμπειν
16 διδαξούσας ταῦτα. ἐννοήσατε δὲ καὶ τόδε, πῶς εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς τῆς μὲν Βοιωτίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἓν εἴη, πολὺ δὲ μείζονος ἀθροιζομένης δυνάμεως ἀμελῆσαι, καὶ ταύτης οὐ κατὰ γῆν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἰσχυρᾶς γιγνομένης. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμποδών, ὅπου ξύλα μὲν ναυπηγήσιμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστί, χρημάτων δὲ πρόσοδοι ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν λιμένων, ἐκ πολλῶν δ' ἐμπορίων, πολυανθρωπία γε μὴν διὰ τὴν πολυ-
17 σιτίαν ὑπάρχει; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ γείτονές γ' εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς Θρᾷκες οἱ ἀβασίλευτοι, οἳ θεραπεύουσι μὲν καὶ νῦν ἤδη τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνους[1] ἔσονται, πολλὴ καὶ αὕτη δύναμις προσγένοιτ' ἂν αὐτοῖς. τούτων γε μὴν ἀκολουθούντων καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Παγγαίῳ χρύσεια χεῖρα ἂν αὐτοῖς ἤδη ὀρέγοι. καὶ τούτων ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν λέγομεν ὅ τι οὐ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων δήμῳ μυριόλεκτόν ἐστι.
18 τό γε μὴν φρόνημα αὐτῶν τί ἄν τις λέγοι; καὶ

[1] ἐκείνους MSS.: ἐκείνοις Kel.

the matter of an alliance. Now if so great a power is to be added to the present strength of the Athenians and Thebans, take care," he said, "lest you find that situation no longer easy to handle. Furthermore, since the Olynthians are in possession of Potidaea, which is on the isthmus of Pallene, be sure that the cities included within Pallene will also be subject to them. And let this fact also be a further evidence to you that these cities have come to fear the Olynthians mightily—that although they feel the utmost hatred toward the Olynthians, nevertheless they did not dare to send ambassadors with us to set forth these things. You should consider this question also, how you can consistently, after having taken care in the case of Boeotia to prevent its being united, nevertheless disregard the gathering of a much greater power, and what is more, a power which is becoming strong not by land only, but also by sea. For what indeed is there to hinder such expansion, seeing that the country itself possesses ship-timber and has revenues from many ports and many trading-places, and likewise an abundant population on account of the abundance of food? And further, mark you, they have for neighbours those Thracians who are under no king. They even now are paying court to the Olynthians; and if they should come under their sway, this also would be a great power added to the Olynthians. Then, if the Thracians were their followers, straightway the gold mines of Mount Pangaeum also would beckon to them. And there is not one of these things which we say which is not also said thousands of times among the people of Olynthus. As for their pride, how could one describe it? For the 388 B.C.

γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἴσως ἐποίησεν ἅμα τῷ δύνασθαι καὶ τὰ φρονήματα αὔξεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, ἐξαγγέλλομεν ὅτι οὕτω τἀκεῖ ἔχει· ὑμεῖς δὲ βουλεύεσθε, εἰ δοκεῖ ἄξια ἐπιμελείας εἶναι. δεῖ γε μὴν ὑμᾶς καὶ τόδε εἰδέναι, ὡς ἣν εἰρήκαμεν δύναμιν μεγάλην οὖσαν, οὔπω δυσπάλαιστός ἐστιν. αἱ γὰρ ἄκουσαι τῶν πόλεων τῆς πολιτείας κοινωνοῦσαι, αὗται, ἄν τι ἴδωσιν ἀντίπαλον, ταχὺ
19 ἀποστήσονται· εἰ μέντοι συγκλεισθήσονται ταῖς τε ἐπιγαμίαις καὶ ἐγκτήσεσι παρ' ἀλλήλοις, ἃς ἐψηφισμένοι εἰσί, καὶ γνώσονται ὅτι μετὰ τῶν κρατούντων ἕπεσθαι κερδαλέον ἐστὶν ὥσπερ Ἀρκάδες, ὅταν μεθ' ὑμῶν ἴωσι, τά τε αὑτῶν σῴζουσι καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἁρπάζουσιν, ἴσως οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως εὔλυτα ἔσται.

20 Λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐδίδοσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς συμμάχοις λόγον καὶ ἐκέλευον συμβουλεύειν ὅ τι γιγνώσκει τις ἄριστον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι πολλοὶ μὲν συνηγόρευον στρατιὰν ποιεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ βουλόμενοι χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ ἔδοξε πέμπειν τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους
21 σύνταγμα ἑκάστην πόλιν. λόγοι δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀργύριόν τε ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ἐξεῖναι διδόναι τῇ βουλομένῃ τῶν πόλεων, τριώβολον Αἰγιναῖον κατὰ ἄνδρα, ἱππέας τε εἴ τις παρέχοι, ἀντὶ τεττάρων

deity, perhaps, has so ordered it that men's pride 383 B.C.
should increase with their power.

"We, then, men of Lacedaemon and of the allied states, report that such are the conditions there; it is for you to deliberate as to whether they seem to deserve attention. But you must understand this also, that the power which we have described as great is not yet hard to wrestle with. For such of the cities as share in the citizenship of Olynthus unwillingly, these, I say, will quickly fall away if they see any opposing force presenting itself; if, however, they once become closely connected by reciprocal rights of intermarriage and of property, which have already been voted, and find that it is profitable to be on the side of the conqueror—even as the Arcadians when they go with you keep their own possessions safe and plunder those of others—then, it may be, this confederacy will no longer be so easy to break up."

When these things had been said, the Lacedaemonians gave their allies permission to speak and bade them advise whatever course anyone of them deemed best both for Peloponnesus and for the allies. Thereupon many, especially those who desired to gratify the Lacedaemonians, advocated raising an army, and it was decided that each state should send its proportionate contingent for an army of ten thousand. Proposals were also made that any state which so desired should be allowed to give money instead of men, three Aeginetan[1] obols per day for each man, while if any state normally furnished horsemen, pay equal to that of four hoplites should be given for

[1] The Aeginetan obol was worth nearly half as much again as the Attic; *cp.* I. v. 5.

22 *ὁπλιτῶν τὸν μισθὸν τῷ ἱππεῖ δίδοσθαι· εἰ δέ τις*
τῶν πόλεων ἐκλίποι τὴν στρατιάν,[1] *ἐξεῖναι Λακε-*
δαιμονίοις ἐπιζημιοῦν στατῆρι κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα
23 *τῆς ἡμέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν, ἀναστάντες οἱ*
Ἀκάνθιοι πάλιν ἐδίδασκον ὡς ταῦτα καλὰ μὲν
εἴη τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὐ μέντοι δυνατὰ ταχὺ περαν-
θῆναι. βέλτιον οὖν ἔφασαν εἶναι, ἐν ᾧ αὕτη ἡ
παρασκευὴ ἀθροίζοιτο, ὡς τάχιστα ἄνδρα ἐξελ-
θεῖν ἄρχοντα καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονός τε,
ὅση ἂν ταχὺ ἐξέλθοι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων·
τούτου γὰρ γενομένου τάς τε οὔπω προσκεχωρη-
κυίας πόλεις στῆναι ἂν καὶ τὰς βεβιασμένας
24 *ἧττον ἂν συμμαχεῖν. δοξάντων δὲ καὶ τούτων,*
ἐκπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Εὐδαμίδαν, καὶ
σὺν αὐτῷ νεοδαμώδεις τε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων καὶ
τῶν Σκιριτῶν ἄνδρας ὡς δισχιλίους. ὁ μέντοι
Εὐδαμίδας ἐξιὼν Φοιβίδαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐδεήθη
τῶν ἐφόρων τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν ἑαυτῷ
προστεταγμένων ἀθροίσαντα μετιέναι· αὐτὸς δὲ
ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία, ταῖς μὲν
δεομέναις τῶν πόλεων φρουροὺς ἔπεμπε, Ποτεί-
δαιαν δὲ καὶ προσέλαβεν ἑκοῦσαν, σύμμαχον ἤδη
ἐκείνων οὖσαν, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενος ἐπολέμει
ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τὸν ἐλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν.
25 *Ὁ δὲ Φοιβίδας, ἐπεὶ ἠθροίσθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ὑπο-*
λειφθέντες τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπο-

[1] *στρατιάν* MSS.: *στρατείαν* Kel.

each horseman; and if any one of the states should fail to send its contingent to the army, the Lacedaemonians were to be permitted to fine such state a stater[1] per day for each man. When these things had been decided upon, the Acanthians rose again and declared that while these measures were excellent, it nevertheless was not possible for them to be speedily carried out. They said it was better, therefore, that while this expedition was gathering, a commander should set out with all possible speed with a force from Lacedaemon, of such size as could take the field quickly, and likewise from the other states; for if this were done, the cities which had not yet gone over to the Olynthians would take no step in that direction, and those which had been coerced would be less likely to continue in alliance with them. This plan also was adopted, and the Lacedaemonians sent out Eudamidas, and with him emancipated Helots and men of the Perioeci and the Sciritans[2] to the total number of about two thousand. Now Eudamidas on setting out requested the ephors to allow Phoebidas, his brother, to gather together all the troops assigned to him which were left behind and to follow after him; as for himself, when he reached the region of the Thracian coast, he sent garrisons to such of the cities as desired them, gained possession of Potidaea, which came over voluntarily, although it was already an ally of the Olynthians, and making that city his base of operations, carried on war in the way one naturally would who had an inferior force. 383 B.C.

Then Phoebidas, after he had gathered together the remaining portion of Eudamidas' troops, took

[1] *i.e.* two drachmas.
[2] A people who lived on the northern frontier of Laconia.

ρεύετο. ὡς δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Θήβαις, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον· στασιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων, πολεμαρχοῦντες μὲν ἐτύγχανον Ἰσμηνίας τε καὶ Λεοντιάδης, διάφοροι δὲ ὄντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀρχηγὸς ἑκάτερος τῶν ἑταιριῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰσμηνίας διὰ τὸ μῖσος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲ ἐπλησίαζε τῷ Φοιβίδᾳ. ὁ μέντοι Λεοντιάδης ἄλλως τε ἐθεράπευεν αὐτόν,
26 καὶ ἐπεὶ εἰσῳκειώθη, ἔλεγε τάδε· Ἔξεστί σοι, ὦ Φοιβίδα, τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ τῇ σεαυτοῦ πατρίδι ὑπουργῆσαι· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀκολουθήσῃς ἐμοὶ σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις, εἰσάξω σε ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. τούτου δὲ γενομένου νόμιζε τὰς Θήβας παντάπασιν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἡμῖν
27 τοῖς ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἔσεσθαι. καίτοι νῦν μέν, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ἀποκεκήρυκται μηδένα μετὰ σοῦ στρατεύειν Θηβαίων ἐπ' Ὀλυνθίους· ἐὰν δέ γε σὺ ταῦτα μεθ' ἡμῶν πράξῃς, εὐθύς σοι ἡμεῖς πολλοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππέας συμπέμψομεν· ὥστε πολλῇ δυνάμει βοηθήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ ἐν ᾧ μέλλει ἐκεῖνος Ὄλυνθον καταστρέφεσθαι, σὺ κατεστραμμένος ἔσει Θήβας, πολὺ μείζω πό-
28 λιν Ὀλύνθου. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φοιβίδας ἀνεκουφίσθη· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ λαμπρόν τι ποιῆσαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ζῆν ἐραστής, οὐ μέντοι λογιστικός γε οὐδὲ πάνυ φρόνιμος ἐδόκει εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡμολόγησε ταῦτα, προορμῆσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκέ-

them under his command and began his march. And 383 B.C. when they arrived in the district of Thebes, they encamped outside the city, near the gymnasium. Now since the Thebans were divided by factions, it chanced that Ismenias and Leontiades, who were polemarchs,[1] were at variance with one another, and both of them leaders of their respective political clubs. Hence Ismenias, on account of his hatred for the Lacedaemonians, did not even go near Phoebidas. Leontiades, however, not only paid court to him in various ways, but when he had become intimate with him, spoke to him as follows: "Phoebidas, it is within your power this day to render the greatest service to your fatherland; for if you will follow me with your hoplites, I will lead you into the Acropolis. And this once accomplished, be sure that Thebes will be completely under the control of the Lacedaemonians and of us who are your friends; whereas now, as you see, proclamation has been made forbidding any Theban from serving with you against the Olynthians. But if you join with us and accomplish this deed, we will at once send with you many hoplites and many horsemen; so that you will go to the aid of your brother with a large force, and while he is getting ready to subdue Olynthus, you will already have subdued Thebes, a far greater state than Olynthus." When Phoebidas heard this, he was filled with buoyant hopes; for he was a man with a far greater passion for performing some brilliant achievement than for life itself, although, on the other hand, he was not regarded as one who weighed his acts or had much practical wisdom. And when he had agreed to the plan, Leontiades directed him to set out on

[1] The polemarchs were the chief officials of Thebes.

λευσεν, ὥσπερ συνεσκευασμένος ἦν εἰς τὸ ἀπιέναι· Ἡνίκα δ' ἂν ᾖ καιρός, πρὸς σὲ ἥξω ἐγώ, ἔφη ὁ
29 Λεοντιάδης, καὶ αὐτός σοι ἡγήσομαι. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ μὲν βουλὴ ἐκάθητο ἐν τῇ ἐν ἀγορᾷ στοᾷ διὰ τὸ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ θεσμοφοριάζειν, θέρους δὲ ὄντος καὶ μεσημβρίας πλείστη ἦν ἐρημία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἐν τούτῳ προσελάσας ἐφ' ἵππου ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἀποστρέφει τε τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ ἡγεῖται εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. καταστήσας δ' ἐκεῖ τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδοὺς τὴν βαλανάγραν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ εἰπὼν μηδένα παριέναι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὅντινα μὴ αὐτὸς κελεύοι, εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν βουλήν.
30 ἐλθὼν δὲ εἶπε τάδε· Ὅτι μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατέχουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μηδὲν ἀθυμεῖτε· οὐδενὶ γάρ φασι πολέμιοι ἥκειν, ὅστις μὴ πολέμου ἐρᾷ· ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος ἐξεῖναι πολεμάρχῳ λαβεῖν, εἴ τις δοκεῖ ἄξια θανάτου ποιεῖν, λαμβάνω τουτονὶ Ἰσμηνίαν, ὡς πολεμοποιοῦντα. καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ λοχαγοί τε καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτων τεταγμένοι, ἀνίστασθε, καὶ λαβόντες
31 ἀπαγάγετε τοῦτον ἔνθα εἴρηται. οἱ μὲν δὴ εἰδότες τὸ πρᾶγμα παρῆσάν τε καὶ ἐπείθοντο καὶ συνελάμβανον. τῶν δὲ μὴ εἰδότων, ἐναντίων δὲ ὄντων τοῖς περὶ Λεοντιάδην, οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον εὐθὺς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποθάνοιεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ οἴκαδε πρῶτον ἀπεχώρησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰργμένον

[1] The Theban Acropolis, which was the usual meeting-place of the senate.

his way, prepared as he was to depart from Thebes. 383 B.C.
"And when the proper time arrives," said Leontiades, "I will return to you and act as your guide myself." Accordingly, while the senate was in session in the portico in the market-place, for the reason that the women were celebrating the festival of the Thesmophoria in the Cadmea,[1] and while, inasmuch as it was summer and midday, the streets were entirely deserted, at this time Leontiades rode out on horseback to overtake Phoebidas, turned him back, and led him straight to the Acropolis. And after establishing Phoebidas there with the troops under his command, giving him the key to the gates, and telling him to let no one into the Acropolis unless he himself so ordered, he proceeded at once to the meeting of the senate. And when he had arrived there, he spoke as follows: "Be not at all despondent, gentlemen, because the Lacedaemonians are in possession of the Acropolis; for they say that they have not come as enemies to anyone who is not eager for war; as for me, since the law directs that a polemarch shall have power to arrest any man who seems to be doing deeds which deserve death, I arrest Ismenias here, as an instigator of war. Therefore do you captains, and you who have been detailed with them, arise, seize this man, and lead him away to the place where you have been directed to take him." Now those who knew of the plan were of course present, obeyed the order, and seized Ismenias; but of those who did not know about it and were opponents of Leontiades and his party, some fled at once out of the city, fearing that they would be put to death; others withdrew at first to their homes; when they learned, however, that Ismenias

τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν ᾔσθοντο ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ, τότε δὴ ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ ταὐτὰ γιγνώσκοντες Ἀνδροκλείδᾳ τε καὶ Ἰσμηνίᾳ μάλιστα τριακόσιοι.

32 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπέπρακτο, πολέμαρχον μὲν ἀντὶ Ἰσμηνίου ἄλλον εἵλοντο, ὁ δὲ Λεοντιάδης εὐθὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπορεύετο. ηὗρε δ' ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν ἐφόρους καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πλῆθος χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας τῷ Φοιβίδᾳ, ὅτι οὐ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα ἐπεπράχει· ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἔλεγεν ὅτι εἰ μὲν βλαβερὰ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πεπραχὼς εἴη, δίκαιος εἴη ζημιοῦσθαι, εἰ δὲ ἀγαθά, ἀρχαῖον εἶναι νόμιμον ἐξεῖναι τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοσχεδιάζειν. Αὐτὸ οὖν τοῦτ', ἔφη, προσήκει σκοπεῖν, πότερον ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακά ἐστι τὰ πεπραγμένα.

33 Ἔπειτα μέντοι ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς ἐκκλήτους ἔλεγε τοιάδε· Ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς μὲν πολεμικῶς εἶχον ὑμῖν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πρὶν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐλέγετε· ἑωρᾶτε γὰρ ἀεὶ τούτους τοῖς μὲν ὑμετέροις δυσμενέσι φιλικῶς ἔχοντας, τοῖς δ' ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἐχθροὺς ὄντας. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ἐν Πειραιεῖ δῆμον, πολεμιώτατον ὄντα ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν συστρατεύειν; Φωκεῦσι δέ, ὅτι ὑμᾶς[1]
34 εὐμενεῖς ὄντας ἑώρων, ἐπεστράτευον; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους εἰδότες ὑμᾶς πόλεμον ἐκφέροντας συμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὑμεῖς γε τότε μὲν ἀεὶ προσείχετε τὸν νοῦν πότε ἀκούσεσθε βιαζομένους αὐτοὺς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὑφ' αὑτοῖς

[1] ὑμᾶς MSS.: ὑμῖν Kel.

was imprisoned in the Cadmea, then all those who held the same views as Androcleidas and Ismenias retired to Athens, to the number of about three hundred. 383 B.C.

When these things had been accomplished, they chose another polemarch in place of Ismenias, but Leontiades proceeded at once to Lacedaemon. There he found the ephors and the majority of the citizens angry with Phoebidas because he had acted in this matter without authorization by the state. Agesilaus, however, said that if what he had done was harmful to Lacedaemon, he deserved to be punished, but if advantageous, it was a time-honoured custom that a commander, in such cases, had the right to act on his own initiative. "It is precisely this point, therefore," he said, "which should be considered, whether what has been done is good or bad for the state."

Then Leontiades came before the assembly and spoke as follows: "Men of Lacedaemon, that the Thebans were hostile to you before what has now been done came to pass, you were wont to say yourselves; for you saw that they were always friendly to your enemies, and enemies to your friends. Did they not refuse to join you in the campaign against the Athenian commons in Piraeus, who were bitter enemies of yours, and did they not, on the other hand, march against the Phocians because they saw that you were well disposed towards them? Again, knowing that you were making war upon the Olynthians, they undertook to conclude an alliance with them, and you in those past days were always uneasily watching for the time when you should hear that they were forcing Boeotia to be under their

εἶναι· νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ τάδε πέπρακται, οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς δεῖ Θηβαίους φοβεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ἀρκέσει ὑμῖν μικρὰ σκυτάλη ὥστ' ἐκεῖθεν πάντα ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ὅσων ἂν δέησθε, ἐὰν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς
35 ἡμῶν ἐπιμελῆσθε. ἀκούουσι ταῦτα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔδοξε τήν τε ἀκρόπολιν ὥσπερ κατείληπτο φυλάττειν καὶ Ἰσμηνίᾳ κρίσιν ποιῆσαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμπουσι δικαστὰς Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν τρεῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν συμμαχίδων ἕνα ἀφ' ἑκάστης καὶ μικρᾶς καὶ μεγάλης πόλεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεκαθίζετο τὸ δικαστήριον, τότε δὴ κατηγορεῖτο τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ ὡς βαρβαρίζοι καὶ ὡς ξένος τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος γεγενημένος εἴη καὶ ὡς τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρημάτων μετειληφὼς εἴη καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ταραχῆς πάσης ἐκεῖνός τε καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδας
36 αἰτιώτατοι εἶεν. ὁ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν πρὸς πάντα ταῦτα, οὐ μέντοι ἔπειθέ γε τὸ μὴ οὐ μεγαλοπράγμων τε καὶ κακοπράγμων εἶναι. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν κατεψηφίσθη καὶ ἀποθνῄσκει· οἱ δὲ περὶ Λεοντιάδην εἶχόν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔτι πλείω ὑπηρέτουν ἢ προσετάττετο αὐτοῖς.

37 Τούτων δὴ πεπραγμένων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ προθυμότερον τὴν εἰς τὴν Ὄλυνθον στρατιὰν συναπέστελλον. καὶ ἐκπέμπουσι Τελευτίαν μὲν ἁρμοστήν, τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν αὐτοί τε ἅπαντας συνεξέπεμπον, καὶ εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις σκυτάλας διέπεμπον, κελεύοντες ἀκολουθεῖν Τελευτίᾳ κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν

sway; but now that this stroke has been accomplished, there is no need of your fearing the Thebans; on the contrary, a brief message from you will suffice to secure from that quarter all the support that you may desire, provided only you show as much concern for us as we have shown for you." Upon hearing these words the Lacedaemonians resolved, so long as the Acropolis had been seized, to keep it garrisoned, and to bring Ismenias to trial. Accordingly they sent out as judges three Lacedaemonians and one from each of the allied states, whether small or great. And it was not until the court held its sitting that charges were brought against Ismenias,—that he was a supporter of the barbarians, that he had become a guest-friend of the Persian satrap to the hurt of Greece, that he had received a share of the money which came from the King, and that he and Androcleidas were chiefly responsible for all the trouble and disorder in Greece. To all these charges he did indeed make a defence, but he failed to persuade the court that he was not a man of great and evil undertakings. So he was pronounced guilty and put to death; as for Leontiades and his party, they held possession of Thebes and gave the Lacedaemonians their support in even more than was demanded of them. 383 B.C.

After these things had been accomplished, the Lacedaemonians with much more spirit set about dispatching the joint army to Olynthus. They sent out Teleutias as governor, and not only sent with him their own full contingent of the total ten thousand men, but also transmitted official dispatches to the various allied states, directing them to follow Teleutias 382 B.C.

συμμάχων. καὶ οἵ τε ἄλλοι προθύμως τῷ Τε-
λευτίᾳ ὑπηρέτουν, καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀχάριστος ἐδόκει
εἶναι τοῖς ὑπουργοῦσί τι, καὶ ἡ τῶν Θηβαίων δὲ
πόλις, ἅτε καὶ Ἀγησιλάου ὄντος αὐτῷ ἀδελφοῦ,
38 προθύμως συνέπεμψε καὶ ὁπλίτας καὶ ἱππέας. ὁ
δὲ σπεύδων μὲν οὐ μάλα ἐπορεύετο, ἐπιμελόμενος
δὲ τοῦ τε μὴ ἀδικῶν τοὺς φίλους πορεύεσθαι καὶ
τοῦ ὡς πλείστην δύναμιν ἀθροίζειν. προέπεμπε
δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀμύνταν, καὶ ἠξίου αὐτὸν καὶ ξένους
μισθοῦσθαι καὶ τοῖς πλησίον βασιλεῦσι χρήματα
διδόναι, ὡς συμμάχους εἶναι, εἴπερ βούλοιτο τὴν
ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβεῖν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Δέρδαν
τὸν Ἐλιμίας ἄρχοντα, διδάσκων ὅτι οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι
κατεστραμμένοι τὴν μείζω δύναμιν Μακεδονίας
εἶεν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνήσουσι τὴν ἐλάττω, εἰ μή τις
39 αὐτοὺς παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν,
μάλα πολλὴν ἔχων στρατιὰν ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν
ἑαυτῶν συμμαχίδα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ποτεί-
δαιαν, ἐκεῖθεν συνταξάμενος ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν
πολεμίαν. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἰὼν οὔτ' ἔκαεν
οὔτ' ἔκοπτε, νομίζων, εἴ τι ποιήσειε τούτων, ἐμ-
ποδὼν ἂν αὐτῷ πάντα γίγνεσθαι καὶ προσιόντι
καὶ ἀπιόντι· ὁπότε δὲ ἀναχωροίη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως,
τότε ὀρθῶς ἔχειν κόπτοντα τὰ δένδρα ἐμποδὼν
καταβάλλειν, εἴ τις ὄπισθεν ἐπίοι.
40 Ὡς δὲ ἀπεῖχεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲ δέκα
στάδια, ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα, εὐώνυμον μὲν αὐτὸς

in accordance with the resolution of the allies. And all the states gave their hearty support to Teleutias, —for he was regarded as a man not ungrateful to those who performed any service,—while the Theban state in particular, inasmuch as he was a brother of Agesilaus, eagerly sent with him both hoplites and horsemen. Now he prosecuted his march with no great speed, his concern being rather to make the journey without doing any harm to the friends of his state and to collect as large a force as possible. He also sent word on ahead to Amyntas and asked him not only to hire mercenaries, but likewise to give money to the kings in his neighbourhood, that they might become allies, if he really wanted to recover his dominions. Furthermore, he sent to Derdas, the ruler of Elimia, pointing out to him that the Olynthians had already subdued the greater power, Macedonia, and would not let the lesser escape unless someone put a stop to their presumption. As a result of his doing these things he had a very large army when he arrived in the territory of his state's allies. And when he had come to Potidaea, he proceeded from there with his army in order of battle into the enemy's country. Now on his way toward the city of Olynthus he neither burned nor cut down, believing that anything of this sort he should do would prove so many obstacles in his way both as he approached and as he withdrew; but he believed that when he should retire from the city it would be right to cut down the trees and put them in the way of anyone who might come against him from behind. 382 B.C.

And when he was distant from the city not so much as ten stadia, he halted the army, himself

ἔχων, οὕτω γὰρ συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς πύλας ἰέναι ᾗ ἐξῆσαν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη φάλαγξ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπετέτατο πρὸς τὸ δεξιόν. καὶ τῶν ἱππέων δὲ τοὺς μὲν Λάκωνας καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὅσοι τῶν Μακεδόνων παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ἐτάξατο, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ εἶχε Δέρδαν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου ἱππέας ὡς εἰς τετρακοσίους διά τε τὸ ἄγασθαι τοῦτο τὸ ἱππικὸν καὶ διὰ τὸ θεραπεύειν τὸν Δέρδαν, ὡς

41 ἡδόμενος παρείη. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐλθόντες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει, συσπειραθέντες αὐτῶν οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐμβάλλουσι κατὰ τοὺς Λάκωνας καὶ Βοιωτούς. καὶ Πολύχαρμόν τε τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον ἵππαρχον καταβάλλουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ κείμενον πάμπολλα κατέτρωσαν, καὶ ἄλλους ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τέλος τρέπονται τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι ἱππικόν. φευγόντων δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ἐνέκλινε καὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον πεζὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅλον δ᾽ ἂν ἐκινδύνευσεν ἡττηθῆναι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ μὴ Δέρδας ἔχων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἱππικὸν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἤλασεν. ἐπῄει δὲ καὶ ὁ Τελευτίας σὺν τοῖς

42 περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐν τάξει. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ᾔσθοντο οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποκλεισθεῖεν τῶν πυλῶν, ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν πολλῇ σπουδῇ. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Δέρδας παρελαύνοντας παμπόλλους[1] αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀπεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων εἰς τὴν πόλιν· οὐ μέντοι πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον, ἅτε ἐγγὺς

43 τοῦ τείχους ὄντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τροπαῖόν τε ἐστάθη

[1] After παμπόλλους the MSS. have ἱππέας: Kel. brackets, following Dindorf.

occupying the left wing,—for in this way it fell to 382 B.C.
him to advance in the direction of the gate where the enemy issued forth,—while the rest of the phalanx, made up of the allies, stretched away to the right. As for the horsemen, he likewise posted upon the right wing the Laconians, the Thebans, and all the Macedonians who were present, while he kept by his own side Derdas and his horsemen, numbering about four hundred, not only because he admired this troop, but also to do honour to Derdas, so that he should be glad he had joined the expedition. But when the enemy came and formed in opposing line beneath the city wall, their horsemen, massing themselves together, charged upon the Laconians and Boeotians. And they not only struck down from his horse Polycharmus, the Lacedaemonian commander of cavalry, and inflicted very many wounds upon him as he lay, but they also killed others, and finally put to flight the cavalry upon the right wing. Now as the cavalry fled, the infantry next them also gave way, and the whole army, indeed, would have been in danger of being defeated had not Derdas with his troop dashed straight for the gates of the Olynthians. And Teleutias also advanced to the attack with his troops in battle order. When the Olynthian horsemen perceived these movements, being seized with fear lest they should be shut out from the gates, they turned about and retired in great haste. Then Derdas killed very many of them as they rode past him. And the foot-soldiers of the Olynthians also retired into the city; but not many of them were killed, because the wall was near. And when a trophy had been set up and

καὶ ἡ νίκη αὕτη τῷ Τελευτίᾳ ἐγεγένητο, ἀπιὼν δὴ ἔκοπτε τὰ δένδρα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν στρατευσάμενος τὸ θέρος διῆκε καὶ τὸ Μακεδονικὸν στράτευμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δέρδα· πολλάκις μέντοι καὶ οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι καταθέοντες εἰς τὰς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίδας πόλεις ἐλεηλάτουν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀπεκτίννυον.

III. Ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ὑποφαινομένῳ οἱ μὲν Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς ὄντες ὡς ἑξακόσιοι κατεδεδραμήκεσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἅμα μεσημβρίᾳ καὶ διεσπαρμένοι ἐλεηλάτουν· ὁ δὲ Δέρδας ἐτύγχανε ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφιγμένος μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀριστοποιούμενος ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ. ὡς δ' εἶδε τὴν καταδρομήν, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε, τούς θ' ἵππους ἐπεσκευασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀμβάτας ἐξωπλισμένους ἔχων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταφρονητικῶς οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι καὶ εἰς τὸ προάστιον καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς τὰς πύλας ἤλαυνον, τότε δὴ συντεταγμένους ἔχων
2 ἐξελαύνει. οἱ δὲ ὡς εἶδον, εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. ὁ δ' ὡς ἅπαξ ἐτρέψατο, οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἐνενήκοντα στάδια διώκων καὶ ἀποκτιννύς, ἕως πρὸς αὐτὸ κατεδίωξε τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ ἐλέγετο ὁ Δέρδας ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ περὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἱππέας. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τειχήρεις τε μᾶλλον ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τῆς χώρας ὀλίγην
3 παντελῶς εἰργάζοντο. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ τοῦ Τελευτίου ἐστρατευμένου πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ὀλυνθίων πόλιν, ὡς εἴ τι δένδρον ὑπόλοιπον εἴη ἢ τι εἰργασμένον τοῖς πολεμίοις, φθείροι, ἐξελθόντες οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς ἥσυχοι πορευόμενοι διέβησαν τὸν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ῥέοντα

this victory had fallen to Teleutias, then as he withdrew he proceeded to cut down the trees. Now after continuing the campaign through this summer he dismissed both the Macedonian army and the horsemen of Derdas; the Olynthians, however, on their side made frequent raids into the territory of the cities allied with the Lacedaemonians, and carried off booty and killed men. 382 B.C.

III. At the very beginning of the following spring the Olynthian horsemen, about six hundred in number, had made a raid into the district of Apollonia at midday and were scattered about pillaging; and it chanced that on that day Derdas had arrived with his horsemen and was breakfasting at Apollonia. When he saw the raid, he kept quiet, keeping his horses saddled and bridled and their riders fully armed. But when the Olynthians came riding disdainfully not only into the suburbs, but to the very gates of the city, then he dashed forth with his men in good order. And upon seeing him the enemy took to flight. But he, when once he had turned them to flight, did not stop pursuing and killing for ninety stadia, until he had chased them to the very wall of the Olynthians. It was said, indeed, that Derdas killed in this action about eighty horsemen. And from this day forth the enemy stayed more closely within their wall and cultivated only an exceedingly small portion of their land. As time went on, however, and Teleutias had led his army up to the city of the Olynthians in order to destroy whatever tree was left or whatever field had been cultivated by the enemy, the Olynthian horsemen issued forth and, proceeding quietly, crossed the river which flows 381 B.C.

ποταμόν, καὶ ἐπορεύοντο[1] πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον στράτευμα. ὡς δ' εἶδεν ὁ Τελευτίας, ἀγανακτήσας τῇ τόλμῃ αὐτῶν εὐθὺς Τλημονίδαν τὸν τῶν πελταστῶν ἄρχοντα δρόμῳ φέρεσθαι εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκέ-
4 λευσεν. οἱ δὲ Ὀλύνθιοι ὡς εἶδον προθέοντας τοὺς πελταστάς, ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν ἥσυχοι, καὶ διέβησαν πάλιν τὸν ποταμόν. οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν μάλα θρασέως καὶ ὡς φεύγουσι διώξοντες ἐπιδιέβαινον. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς, ἡνίκα ἔτι εὐχείρωτοι αὐτοῖς ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ διαβεβηκότες, ἀναστρέψαντες ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Τλημονίδαν
5 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλείους ἢ ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας ὡς εἶδε τὸ γιγνόμενον, ὀργισθεὶς ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα ἦγε μὲν ταχὺ τοὺς ὁπλίτας, διώκειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας καὶ μὴ ἀνιέναι. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ καιροῦ ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ τείχους διώξαντες κακῶς ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐβάλλοντο, ἀποχωρεῖν τε ἠναγκάζοντο τεθορυβημένως
6 καὶ προφυλάττεσθαι τὰ βέλη. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἐπεξελαύνουσι μὲν τοὺς ἱππέας, ἐβοήθουν δὲ καὶ οἱ πελτασταί· τέλος δὲ καὶ οἱ ὁπλῖται ἐπεξέθεον, καὶ τεταραγμένῃ τῇ φάλαγγι προσπίπτουσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Τελευτίας ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενος ἀποθνήσκει. τούτου δὲ γενομένου εὐθὺς καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἵστατο, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἔφευγον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Σπαρτώλου, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀκάνθου, οἱ δὲ εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν, οἱ πλεῖ-

[1] After ἐπορεύοντο the MSS. have ἡσυχῇ: Kel. brackets, following Dindorf.

by the city and held on their way towards the opposing army. And when Teleutias saw them, being irritated at their audacity, he immediately ordered Tlemonidas, the leader of the peltasts, to charge against them on the run. Now when the Olynthians saw the peltasts sallying forth, they turned about, retired quietly, and crossed the river again. The peltasts, on the other hand, followed very rashly and, with the thought that the enemy were in flight, pushed into the river after them to pursue them. Thereupon the Olynthian horsemen, at the moment when they thought that those who had crossed the river were still easy to handle, turned about and dashed upon them, and they not only killed Tlemonidas himself, but more than one hundred of the others. But Teleutias, filled with anger when he saw what was going on, snatched up his arms and led the hoplites swiftly forward, while he ordered the peltasts and the horsemen to pursue and not stop pursuing. Now in many other instances those who have pressed a pursuit too close to a city's wall have come off badly in their retreat, and in this case also, when the men were showered with missiles from the towers, they were forced to retire in disorder and to guard themselves against the missiles. At this moment the Olynthians sent out their horsemen to the attack, and the peltasts also came to their support; finally, their hoplites likewise rushed out, and fell upon the Lacedaemonian phalanx when it was already in confusion. There Teleutias fell fighting. And when this happened, the troops about him at once gave way, and in fact no one stood his ground any longer, but all fled, some for Spartolus, others for Acanthus, others to Apollonia, and the 381 B.C.

στοι δὲ εἰς Ποτείδαιαν. ὡς δ' ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἔφευγον, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἄλλος ἄλλοσε διώκοντες παμπληθεῖς ἀπέκτειναν ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὅ τιπερ ὄφελος ἦν τοῦ στρατεύματος.

7 *Ἐκ μέντοι γε τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν ἐγώ φημι ἀνθρώπους παιδεύεσθαι μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ὡς οὐδ' οἰκέτας χρὴ ὀργῇ κολάζειν· πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ δεσπόται ὀργιζόμενοι μείζω κακὰ ἔπαθον ἢ ἐποίησαν· ἀτὰρ ἀντιπάλοις τὸ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ γνώμῃ προσφέρεσθαι ὅλον ἁμάρτημα. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὀργὴ ἀπρονόητον, ἡ δὲ γνώμη σκοπεῖ οὐδὲν ἧττον μή τι πάθῃ ἢ ὅπως βλάψῃ τι τοὺς πολεμίους.*

8 *Τοῖς δ' οὖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν τὸ πρᾶγμα, βουλευομένοις ἐδόκει οὐ φαύλην πεμπτέον δύναμιν εἶναι, ὅπως τό τε φρόνημα τῶν νενικηκότων κατασβεσθείη καὶ μὴ μάτην τὰ πεπονημένα γένοιτο. οὕτω δὲ γνόντες ἡγεμόνα μὲν Ἀγησίπολιν τὸν βασιλέα ἐκπέμπουσι, μετ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ὥσπερ Ἀγησιλάου εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τριά-*
9 *κοντα Σπαρτιατῶν. πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἐθελονταὶ καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ξένοι τῶν τροφίμων καλουμένων, καὶ νόθοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, μάλα εὐειδεῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καλῶν οὐκ ἄπειροι. συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων ἐθελονταί, καὶ Θετταλῶν γε ἱππεῖς, γνωσθῆναι τῷ Ἀγησιπόλιδι βουλόμενοι, καὶ Ἀμύντας δὲ καὶ Δέρδας ἔτι προ-*

majority to Potidaea. As they fled in all directions, 381 B.C. so likewise the enemy pursued in all directions, and killed a vast number of men, including the most serviceable part of the army.

From such disasters, however, I hold that men are taught the lesson, chiefly, indeed, that they ought not to chastise anyone, even slaves, in anger—for masters in anger have often suffered greater harm than they have inflicted; but especially that, in dealing with enemies, to attack under the influence of anger and not with judgment is an absolute mistake. For anger is a thing which does not look ahead, while judgment aims no less to escape harm than to inflict it upon the enemy.

When the Lacedaemonians heard of this affair, it seemed to them as they deliberated that they must send out no small force, in order that the pride of the victors might be quenched and that the efforts already made might not go for nothing. Having come to this conclusion, they sent out Agesipolis, the king, as commander, and with him, as they had sent with Agesilaus to Asia, thirty Spartiatae. There followed with him also many of the Perioeci as volunteers, men of the better class, and aliens who belonged to the so-called foster-children[1] of Sparta, and sons of the Spartiatae by Helot women, exceedingly fine-looking men, not without experience of the good gifts of the state. Furthermore, volunteers from the allied states joined the expedition and horsemen of the Thessalians, who wished to become known to Agesipolis, while Amyntas and Derdas took part

[1] *i.e.* were brought up at Sparta and went through the usual course of Spartan discipline. Xenophon's own sons belonged to this class.

θυμότερον ἢ πρόσθεν. Ἀγησίπολις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα
πράττων ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ὄλυνθον.
10 Ἡ δὲ τῶν Φλειασίων πόλις, ἐπαινεθεῖσα μὲν
ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγησιπόλιδος ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ταχέως
αὐτῷ χρήματα εἰς τὴν στρατείαν ἔδοσαν, νομί-
ζουσα δ' ἔξω ὄντος Ἀγησιπόλιδος οὐκ ἂν ἐξελθεῖν
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἀγησίλαον, οὐδ' ἂν γενέσθαι ὥστε
ἅμα ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἔξω Σπάρτης
εἶναι, θρασέως οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων ἐποίουν τοῖς
κατεληλυθόσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ φυγάδες ἠξίουν
τὰ ἀμφίλογα ἐν ἴσῳ δικαστηρίῳ κρίνεσθαι· οἱ δὲ
ἠνάγκαζον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει διαδικάζεσθαι. λεγόν-
των δὲ τῶν κατεληλυθότων, καὶ τίς αὕτη δίκη
εἴη ὅπου αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀδικοῦντες δικάζοιεν, οὐδὲν
11 εἰσήκουον. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι ἔρχονται εἰς Λακε-
δαίμονα οἱ κατελθόντες κατηγορήσοντες τῆς πό-
λεως, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν οἴκοθεν συνηκολούθουν,
λέγοντες ὅτι πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐ δοκοῖεν
δίκαια πάσχειν. ἀγανακτήσασα δὲ τούτοις τῶν
Φλειασίων ἡ πόλις ἐζημίωσε πάντας ὅσοι μὴ
πεμπούσης τῆς πόλεως ἦλθον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα.
12 οἱ δὲ ζημιωθέντες οἴκαδε μὲν ὤκνουν ἀπιέναι,
μένοντες δ' ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὗτοι μὲν εἴησαν, οἱ
βιαζόμενοι ταῦτα, οἵπερ σφᾶς τε ἐξέβαλον καὶ
Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπέκλεισαν, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ πριά-
μενοί τε τὰ σφέτερα καὶ βιαζόμενοι μὴ ἀποδιδό-
ναι, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ νῦν διαπεπραγμένοι εἰσὶ ζημιω-
θῆναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντας,

[1] cp. ii. 10

with even greater eagerness than before. Under 381 B.C. these circumstances it was that Agesipolis marched against Olynthus.

Meanwhile the people of Phlius, partly because they had been commended by Agesipolis for giving him a large sum of money for his campaign and giving it speedily, partly because they thought that with Agesipolis abroad Agesilaus would not take the field against them, and that it never would happen that both the kings would be outside of Sparta at the same time, boldly refused to grant any of their rights to the restored exiles.[1] For while the exiles demanded that the questions in dispute should be brought to trial before an impartial court, their policy was to compel them to plead their cases in the city itself. And when the exiles asked what manner of trial that was, where the wrong-doers were themselves the judges, they refused to listen to them at all. Consequently these restored exiles came to Lacedaemon to present their charge against the state, and other people from home came with them, saying that many even among the citizens thought that the exiles were not receiving just treatment. But the state of Phlius, angered at this, fined all who had gone to Lacedaemon without being sent by the state. And those who were thus fined were afraid to return home, but remained and protested to the Lacedaemonians, saying: "These men, who are engaged in these high-handed proceedings, are the men who have banished us and have also excluded you from their city, these are the men who are buying our property and resorting to high-handed measures so as not to give it back, and now these same men have contrived to have a fine inflicted upon us for

ὅπως τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδεὶς τολμῴη ἰέναι δηλώσων
13 τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει γιγνόμενα. τῷ δ' ὄντι ὑβρίζειν
δοκούντων τῶν Φλειασίων φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς οἱ ἔφοροι. ἦν δὲ οὐ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀχθο-
μένῳ ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ τῷ μὲν πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρχι-
δάμῳ ξένοι ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ποδάνεμον, καὶ τότε τῶν
κατεληλυθότων ἦσαν· αὐτῷ δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Προκλέα
14 τὸν Ἱππονίκου. ὡς δὲ τῶν διαβατηρίων γενομέ-
νων οὐκ ἔμελλεν, ἀλλ' ἐπορεύετο, πολλαὶ πρε-
σβεῖαι ἀπήντων καὶ χρήματα ἐδίδοσαν, ὥστε μὴ
ἐμβάλλειν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐχ ἵνα ἀδικοίη
στρατεύοιτο, ἀλλ' ὅπως τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις βοηθή-
15 σειεν. οἱ δὲ τελευτῶντες πάντα ἔφασκον ποιήσειν,
ἐδέοντό τε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὡς
οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσειε λόγοις, καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρότερον
ψεύσασθαι αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἔργου τινὸς πιστοῦ δεῖν
ἔφη. ἐρωτώμενος δὲ καὶ τί τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη; πάλιν
ἀπεκρίνατο· Ὅπερ καὶ πρόσθεν, ἔφη, ποιήσαντες
οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἠδικήθητε. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὴν
16 ἀκρόπολιν παραδοῦναι. οὐκ ἐθελόντων δὲ αὐτῶν
τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐνέβαλέ τε εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ ταχὺ
περιτειχίσας ἐπολιόρκει αὐτούς. πολλῶν δὲ λε-
γόντων Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ὀλίγων ἕνεκεν ἀνθρώ-
πων πόλει ἀπεχθάνοιντο πλέον πεντακισχιλίων
ἀνδρῶν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅπως τοῦτ' ἔνδηλον εἴη, οἱ
Φλειάσιοι ἐν τῷ φανερῷ τοῖς ἔξω ἐκκλησίαζον·

---

[1] *cp.* IV. iv. 15.

coming here, so that in the future no one shall dare to come for the purpose of revealing what is going on in the state." And since it seemed that the Phliasians were really acting insolently, the ephors called out the ban against them. Now this was not displeasing to Agesilaus; for the followers of Podanemus had been friends of his father Archidamus and were at this time among the restored exiles; while the partisans of Procles, the son of Hipponicus, were friends of his own. And when, after the sacrifices at the frontier had proved favourable, he made no delay but proceeded on the march, many embassies met him and offered him money not to invade the country of Phlius. He replied, however, that he was not taking the field to do wrong, but to aid those who were suffering wrong. Finally they said that they would do anything whatsoever, and begged him not to invade. He answered again that he could not trust to words, for they had proved false to their word in the previous case, but he said there was need of some deed that one could trust. And when he was asked what manner of deed this would be, he replied again: "The same thing," said he, "that you did before,[1] and in doing which you suffered no wrong whatever at our hands." By this he meant giving over their Acropolis. As they refused to do this, he invaded their land and quickly built a wall of circumvallation around the city and besieged them. And when many Lacedaemonians said that merely for the sake of a few individuals they were making themselves hated by a state of more than five thousand men—for the Phliasians held their assemblies in plain sight of the people outside the city just for the purpose of making the fact of their numbers 381 B.C.

ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος πρὸς τοῦτο ἀντεμηχανήσατο.
17 ὁπότε γὰρ ἐξίοιεν ἢ διὰ φιλίαν ἢ διὰ συγγένειαν τῶν φυγάδων, ἐδίδασκε ξυσσίτιά τε αὐτῶν κατασκευάζειν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἱκανὸν διδόναι, ὁπόσοι γυμνάζεσθαι ἐθέλοιεν· καὶ ὅπλα δὲ ἐκπορίζειν ἅπασι τούτοις διεκελεύετο, καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν εἰς ταῦτα χρήματα δανείζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπηρετοῦντες ἀπέδειξαν πλείους χιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἄριστα μὲν τὰ σώματα ἔχοντας, εὐτάκτους δὲ καὶ εὐοπλοτάτους· ὥστε τελευτῶντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔλεγον ὡς τοιούτων δέοιντο συστρατιωτῶν.

18 Καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ περὶ ταῦτα ἦν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας προσιὼν ἔθετο πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὰ ὅπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντεξῄει αὐτῷ, τότε τῆς Ὀλυνθίας εἴ τι ὑπόλοιπον ἦν ἐδῄου καὶ εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας ἰὼν αὐτῶν ἔφθειρε τὸν σῖτον· Τορώνην δὲ καὶ
19 προσβαλὼν εἷλε κατὰ κράτος. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ὄντα κατὰ θέρους ἀκμὴν καῦμα περιφλεγὲς λαμβάνει αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ πρόσθεν ἑορακότα τὸ ἐν Ἀφύτει τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερὸν ἔρως αὐτὸν τότ' ἔσχε τῶν τε σκιερῶν σκηνημάτων καὶ τῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ ψυχρῶν ὑδάτων. ἐκομίσθη μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖσε ἔτι ζῶν, ὅμως μέντοι ἑβδομαῖος ἀφ' οὗ ἔκαμεν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐν μέλιτι τεθεὶς καὶ κομισθεὶς οἴκαδε ἔτυχε τῆς βασιλικῆς ταφῆς.

20 Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσας οὐχ ᾗ τις ἂν ᾤετο ἐφήσθη ὡς ἀντιπάλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδάκρυσε

evident—Agesilaus devised a scheme to meet this situation. Whenever any Phliasians came out of the city either from friendship or kinship with the exiles, he instructed the latter to form common messes of their own with such of the new-comers as were ready to undertake the army training, and to supply money enough for provisions; he also urged them to provide arms for all these people and not to hesitate to borrow money for this purpose. The exiles accordingly carried out his injunctions, and showed as a result more than a thousand men in splendid condition of body, well disciplined, and extremely well armed; so that the Lacedaemonians finally said that they had need of such fellow-soldiers. 381 B.C.

Agesilaus, then, was occupied with these things. As for Agesipolis, he advanced straight from Macedonia and halted near the city of the Olynthians. And when no one ventured to come out against him, he then laid waste whatever part of the Olynthian country was left unravaged, and proceeding into the territory of their allied cities, destroyed the corn: but Torone he attacked and captured by storm While he was engaged in these operations, at midsummer a burning fever seized him. And since he had previously seen the sanctuary of Dionysus at Aphytis, a longing took possession of him at this time for its shady resting-places and its clear, cool waters. He was therefore carried thither, still living, but, nevertheless, on the seventh day from the time when he fell sick, he came to his end outside the sanctuary. And he was placed in honey and carried home, and received the royal burial. 380 B.C.

When Agesilaus heard of this, he did not, as one might have expected, rejoice over it, as over the

καὶ ἐπόθησε τὴν συνουσίαν· συσκηνοῦσι μὲν γὰρ δὴ βασιλεῖς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, ὅταν οἴκοι ὦσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ἱκανὸς μὲν ἦν καὶ ἡβητικῶν καὶ θηρευτικῶν καὶ ἱππικῶν καὶ παιδικῶν λόγων μετέχειν· πρὸς δε τούτοις καὶ ὑπῃδεῖτο αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ συσκηνίᾳ, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς πρεσβύτερον. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντ' ἐκείνου Πολυβιάδην ἁρμοστὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ὄλυνθον ἐκπέμπουσιν.

21 Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἤδη μὲν ὑπερέβαλε τὸν χρόνον, ὅσου ἐλέγετο ἐν Φλειοῦντι σῖτος εἶναι· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐγκράτεια γαστρὸς ἀκρατείας[1] διαφέρει ὥστε οἱ Φλειάσιοι τὸν ἥμισυν ψηφισάμενοι σῖτον τελεῖν ἢ πρόσθεν καὶ ποιοῦντες τοῦτο τὸν διπλάσιον τοῦ εἰκότος χρόνον πολιορκούμενοι

22 διήρκεσαν. καὶ τόλμα δὲ ἀτολμίας ἔσθ' ὅτε τοσοῦτον διαφέρει ὥστε Δελφίων τις, λαμπρὸς δοκῶν εἶναι, λαβὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν τριακοσίους ἄνδρας Φλειασίων ἱκανὸς μὲν ἦν κωλύειν τοὺς βουλομένους εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἱκανὸς δὲ οἷς ἠπίστει εἵρξας φυλάττειν, ἐδύνατο δὲ εἴς τε τὰς φυλακὰς ἀναγκάζειν τὸ πλῆθος ἰέναι καὶ τούτους ἐφοδεύων πιστοὺς παρέχεσθαι. πολλάκις δὲ μεθ' ὧν εἶχε περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκθέων ἀπέκρουε φύλακας ἄλλοτ'

23 ἄλλῃ τοῦ περιτετειχισμένου κύκλου. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι οὗτοι πάντα τρόπον ζητοῦντες οὐχ ηὕρισκον σῖτον ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐκ τούτου δὴ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐδέοντο σπείσα-

[1] Inserted by Kel., following Nauck.

death of an adversary, but he wept, and mourned the loss of his companionship; for the kings of course lodge together when they are at home. And Agesipolis was a man well fitted to converse with Agesilaus about youthful days, hunting exploits, horses, and love affairs; besides this he also treated Agesilaus with deference in their association together in their common quarters, as one would naturally treat an elder. In the place, then, of Agesipolis the Lacedaemonians sent out Polybiades to Olynthus as governor. 380 B.C.

Now Agesilaus had already gone beyond the time for which the food-supply in Phlius was said to suffice; for self-restraint in appetite differs so much from unrestrained indulgence that the Phliasians, by voting to consume half as much food as before and carrying out this decision, held out under siege for twice as long a time as was to have been expected. Furthermore, courage sometimes differs so much from cowardice that a certain Delphion, who was regarded as a brilliant man, taking to himself three hundred of the Phliasians, was able to hold in check those who desired to make peace, was able to shut up and keep under guard those whom he distrusted, and had the power to compel the masses of the people to go to their posts and by putting sentinels over them to keep these people faithful. Frequently also he would sally forth with the three hundred picked men and beat off the troops on guard at one point and another of the wall of circumvallation. When, however, these picked men with searching in every way could not find food in the city, thereupon they sent to Agesilaus and asked him to give them safe conduct for going on an embassy to 379 B.C.

σθαι πρεσβειαν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἰοῦσι· δεδόχθαι γὰρ σφίσιν ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χρήσασθαι τῇ πόλει ὅ τι βού-
24 λοιντο. ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς ὅτι ἄκυρον αὐτὸν ἐποίουν, πέμψας μὲν πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι φίλους διεπράξατο ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτραπῆναι τὰ περὶ Φλειοῦντος, ἐσπείσατο δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ. φυλακῇ δὲ ἔτι ἰσχυροτέρᾳ ἢ πρότερον ἐφύλαττεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξίοι. ὅμως μέντοι ὅ γε Δελφίων καὶ στιγματίας τις μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὃς πολλὰ ὑφείλετο ὅπλα τῶν πολιορκούντων, ἀπέδρασαν νύκτωρ.
25 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἧκον ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιτρέποι Ἀγησιλάῳ διαγνῶναι τὰ ἐν Φλειοῦντι ὅπως αὐτῷ δοκοίη, Ἀγησίλαος δὴ οὕτως ἔγνω, πεντήκοντα μὲν ἄνδρας τῶν κατεληλυθότων, πεντήκοντα δὲ τῶν οἴκοθεν πρῶτον μὲν ἀνακρῖναι ὅντινά τε ζῆν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὅντινα ἀποθανεῖν δίκαιον εἴη· ἔπειτα δὲ νόμους θεῖναι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσοιντο· ἕως δ' ἂν ταῦτα διαπράξωνται, φυλακὴν καὶ μισθὸν τοῖς φρουροῖς ἓξ μηνῶν κατέλιπε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Φλειοῦντα οὕτως αὖ ἐπετετέλεστο ἐν ὀκτὼ μησὶ καὶ ἐνιαυτῷ.

26 Καὶ ὁ Πολυβιάδης δὲ δὴ παντάπασι κακῶς ἔχοντας λιμῷ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν μήτε κατὰ θάλατταν εἰσάγεσθαι σῖτον αὐτοῖς, ἠνάγκασε πέμψαι εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης· οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες πρέσβεις αὐτοκρά-

Lacedaemon; for they said that they had resolved to leave it to the authorities of the Lacedaemonians to do whatever they would with the city. Agesilaus, however, angered because they treated him as one without authority, sent to his friends at home and arranged that the decision about Phlius should be left to him, but nevertheless he gave safe conduct to the embassy. Then he kept guard with a force even stronger than before, in order that no one of the people in the city might escape. In spite of this, however, Delphion, and with him a branded desperado who had many times stolen away weapons from the besiegers, escaped by night. But when messengers arrived from Lacedaemon with word that the state left it to Agesilaus to decide as he thought best upon matters in Phlius, Agesilaus decided in this way—that fifty men from the restored exiles and fifty from the people at home should, in the first place, make inquiry to determine who ought justly to be left alive in the city and who ought to be put to death, and, secondly, should draw up a constitution under which to conduct the government; and until such time as these matters should be settled, he left behind him a garrison and six months' pay for those who composed it. After doing all this he dismissed the allies and led his citizen troops back home. And thus the affair of Phlius in its turn came to a conclusion, after a year and eight months. 379 B.C.

At this time also Polybiades compelled the Olynthians, who were in an exceedingly wretched state from famine, inasmuch as they got no food from their own land and none was brought in to them by sea, to send to Lacedaemon to treat for peace; and those who went thither, being ambassadors with full

τορες συνθήκας ἐποιήσαντο τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον Λακεδαιμονίοις νομίζειν, ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται καὶ σύμμαχοι εἶναι. καὶ ὀμόσαντες ταύταις ἐμμενεῖν οὕτως ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε.

27 Προκεχωρηκότων δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὥστε Θηβαίους μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Βοιωτοὺς παντάπασιν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι, Κορινθίους δὲ πιστοτάτους γεγενῆσθαι, Ἀργείους δὲ τεταπεινῶσθαι διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔτι ὠφελεῖν αὐτοὺς τῶν μηνῶν τὴν ὑποφοράν,[1] Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἠρημῶσθαι, τῶν δ' αὖ συμμάχων κεκολασμένων οἳ δυσμενῶς εἶχον αὐτοῖς, παντάπασιν ἤδη καλῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς κατεσκευάσθαι.

IV. Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἄν τις ἔχοι καὶ ἄλλα λέγειν καὶ Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ βαρβαρικά, ὡς θεοὶ οὔτε τῶν ἀσεβούντων οὔτε τῶν ἀνόσια ποιούντων ἀμελοῦσι· νῦν γε μὴν λέξω τὰ προκείμενα. Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε γὰρ οἱ ὀμόσαντες αὐτονόμους ἐάσειν τὰς πόλεις τὴν ἐν Θήβαις ἀκρόπολιν κατασχόντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν ἀδικηθέντων ἐκολάσθησαν, πρότερον[2] οὐδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς τῶν πώποτε ἀνθρώπων κρατηθέντες, τούς τε τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσαγαγόντας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτοὺς καὶ βουληθέντας Λακεδαιμονίοις δουλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ὥστε αὐτοὶ τυραννεῖν, τὴν τούτων ἀρχὴν ἑπτὰ

[1] διὰ . . . ὑποφοράν MSS.: Kel. brackets.
[2] πρότερον Wolf : πρῶτον Kel. with MSS.

powers, concluded a compact to count the same people enemies and friends as the Lacedaemonians did, to follow wherever they led the way, and to be their allies. Then after taking an oath that they would abide by this compact, they went back home. 379 B.C.

And now that success had to such an extent attended the efforts of the Lacedaemonians that the Thebans and the rest of the Boeotians were completely in their power, the Corinthians had become absolutely faithful, the Argives had been humbled for the reason that their plea of the sacred months was no longer of any help to them, and the Athenians were left destitute of allies, while on the other hand those among the allies of the Lacedaemonians who had been unfriendly to them had been chastised, it seemed that they had at length established their empire most excellently and securely.

IV. Now one could mention many other incidents, both among Greeks and barbarians, to prove that the gods do not fail to take heed of the wicked or of those who do unrighteous things; but at present I will speak of the case which is before me. The Lacedaemonians, namely, who had sworn that they would leave the states independent, after seizing possession of the Acropolis of Thebes were punished by the very men, unaided, who had been thus wronged, although before that time they had not been conquered by any single one of all the peoples that ever existed; while as for those among the Theban citizens who had led them into the Acropolis and had wanted the state to be in subjection to the Lacedaemonians in order that they might rule despotically themselves, just seven of the exiles were

μόνον τῶν φυγόντων ἤρκεσαν καταλῦσαι. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο διηγήσομαι.

2 Ἦν τις Φιλλίδας, ὃς ἐγραμμάτευε τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν πολεμάρχοις, καὶ τἆλλα ὑπηρέτει, ὡς ἐδόκει, ἄριστα. τούτῳ δ' ἀφιγμένῳ Ἀθήναζε κατὰ πρᾶξίν τινα καὶ πρόσθεν γνώριμος ὢν Μέλων τῶν Ἀθήναζε πεφευγότων Θηβαίων συγγίγνεται, καὶ διαπυθόμενος μὲν τὰ περὶ Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμαρχοῦντα καὶ τὴν περὶ Φίλιππον τυραννίδα, γνοὺς δὲ μισοῦντα αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τὰ οἴκοι, πιστὰ δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν συνέθετο

3 ὡς δεῖ ἕκαστα γίγνεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσλαβὼν ὁ Μέλων ἓξ τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους τῶν φευγόντων ξιφίδια ἔχοντας καὶ ἄλλο ὅπλον οὐδέν, ἔρχεται πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν χώραν νυκτός· ἔπειτα δὲ ἡμερεύσαντες ἔν τινι τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἦλθον, ὡς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπιόντες, ἡνίκαπερ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ὀψιαίτατοι. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διενυκτέρευσαν μὲν ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα παρὰ Χάρωνί τινι, καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν δὲ

4 ἡμέραν διημέρευσαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλλίδας τά τε ἄλλα ἐπεμελεῖτο τοῖς πολεμάρχοις, ὡς Ἀφροδίσια ἄγουσιν ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκας πάλαι ὑπισχνούμενος ἄξειν αὐτοῖς τὰς σεμνοτάτας καὶ καλλίστας τῶν ἐν Θήβαις, τότε ἔφη ἄξειν. οἱ δέ — ἦσαν γὰρ τοιοῦτοι — μάλα

[1] See note on ii. 25. It seems likely that the polemarchs were three in number, although Archias and Philippus

enough to destroy the government of these men. 379 B.C.
How all this came to pass I will proceed to relate.

There was a certain Phillidas, who acted as secretary to Archias and his fellow polemarchs[1] and in other ways served them, as it seemed, most excellently. Now this man went to Athens on a matter of business, and there met Melon, one of the Thebans in exile at Athens and a man who had been an acquaintance of his even before this time. Melon, after learning of the doings of the polemarch Archias and the tyrannous rule of Philippus, and finding out that Phillidas hated the conditions that existed at home even more than he himself did, exchanged pledges with him and came to an agreement as to how everything should be managed. After this Melon took with him six of the fittest men among the exiles, armed with daggers and no other weapon, and in the first place proceeded by night into the territory of Thebes; then after spending the day in a deserted spot they came to the city gates, as if on their way back from the country, at just the time when the last returning labourers came in. When they had entered the city, they spent that night at the house of a certain Charon, and likewise spent the following day there. As for Phillidas, since the polemarchs always celebrate a festival of Aphrodite upon the expiration of their term of office, he was making all the arrangements for them, and in particular, having long ago promised to bring them women, and the most stately and beautiful women there were in Thebes, he said he would do so at that time. And they—for they were that sort of men—

(see below) are the only ones whom Xenophon mentions by name.

5 ἡδέως προσεδέχοντο νυκτερεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδεί-
πνησάν τε καὶ συμπροθυμουμένου ἐκείνου ταχὺ
ἐμεθύσθησαν, πάλαι κελευόντων ἄγειν τὰς ἑταί-
ρας, ἐξελθὼν ἤγαγε τοὺς περὶ Μέλωνα, τρεῖς μὲν
στείλας ὡς δεσποίνας, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὡς θερα-
6 παίνας. κἀκείνους μὲν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸ προτα-
μιεῖον τοῦ πολεμαρχείου, αὐτὸς δ' εἰσελθὼν εἶπε
τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν ὅτι οὐκ ἄν φασιν εἰσελθεῖν αἱ
γυναῖκες, εἴ τις τῶν διακόνων ἔνδον ἔσοιτο. ἔνθεν
οἱ μὲν ταχὺ ἐκέλευον πάντας ἐξιέναι, ὁ δὲ Φιλ-
λίδας δοὺς οἶνον εἰς ἑνὸς τῶν διακόνων ἐξέπεμψεν
αὐτούς. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εἰσήγαγε τὰς ἑταίρας δή,
καὶ ἐκάθιζε παρ' ἑκάστῳ. ἦν δὲ σύνθημα, ἐπεὶ
7 καθίζοιντο, παίειν εὐθὺς ἀνακαλυψαμένους. οἱ
μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ
καὶ ὡς κωμαστὰς εἰσελθόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μέλωνα
ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς πολεμάρχους. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Φιλ-
λίδας τρεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Λεον-
τιάδου οἰκίαν· κόψας δὲ τὴν θύραν εἶπεν ὅτι
παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀπαγγεῖλαί τι βούλοιτο.
ὁ δὲ ἐτύγχανε μὲν χωρὶς κατακείμενος ἔτι μετὰ
δεῖπνον, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐριουργοῦσα παρεκάθητο.
ἐκέλευσε δὲ τὸν Φιλλίδαν πιστὸν νομίζων εἰσι-
έναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον, τὸν μὲν ἀποκτείναντες,[1]
τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα φοβήσαντες κατεσιώπησαν. ἐξ-
ιόντες δὲ εἶπον τὴν θύραν κεκλεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ λή-
ψονται ἀνεῳγμένην, ἠπείλησαν ἀποκτεῖναι ἅπαν-
8 τας τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέπρακτο,

[1] ἀποκτείναντες MSS.: ἀπέκτειναν Kel.

expected to spend the night very pleasantly. Now 379 B.C. when they had dined and with his zealous help had quickly become drunk, after they had long urged him to bring in their mistresses he went out and brought Melon and his followers, having dressed up three of them as matrons and the others as their attendants. He conducted them all to the anteroom adjoining the treasury of the polemarchs' building, and then came in himself and told Archias and his colleagues that the women said they would not enter if any of the servants were in the room. At that the polemarchs speedily ordered them all to withdraw, while Phillidas gave them wine and sent them off to the house of one of their number. Then he led in the supposed courtesans and seated them one beside each man. And the agreement was, that when they were seated, they should unveil themselves and strike at once. It was in this way, then, as some tell the story, that the polemarchs were killed, while others say that Melon and his followers came in as though they were revellers and killed them. After this Phillidas took three of his men and proceeded to the house of Leontiades and knocking at the door he said that he wished to give him a message from the polemarchs. Now it chanced that Leontiades had dined by himself and was still reclining on his couch after dinner, while his wife sat beside him, working with wool. And believing Phillidas trustworthy he bade him come in. When the party had entered, they killed Leontiades and frightened his wife into silence. And as they went out, they ordered that the door should remain shut; and they threatened that if they found it open, they would kill all who were in the house. When these things had been

λαβὼν δύο ὁ Φιλλίδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦλθε πρὸς τὸ
ἀνάκειον, καὶ εἶπε τῷ εἱργμοφύλακι ὅτι ἄνδρα
ἄγοι παρὰ τῶν[1] πολεμάρχων ὃν εἷρξαι δέοι.
ὡς δὲ ἀνέῳξε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς
δὲ δεσμώτας ἔλυσαν. καὶ τούτους μὲν ταχὺ τῶν
ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς ὅπλων καθελόντες ὥπλισαν, καὶ
ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον θέσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ
9 ὅπλα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς ἐκήρυττον ἐξιέναι
πάντας Θηβαίους, ἱππέας τε καὶ ὁπλίτας, ὡς
τῶν τυράννων τεθνεώτων. οἱ δὲ πολῖται, ἕως
μὲν νὺξ ἦν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον· ἐπεὶ δ'
ἡμέρα τ' ἦν καὶ φανερὸν ἦν τὸ γεγενημένον, ταχὺ
δὴ καὶ οἱ ὁπλῖται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις
ἐξεβοήθουν. ἔπεμψαν δ' ἱππέας οἱ κατεληλυ-
θότες καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς τοῖς ὁρίοις Ἀθηναίων
δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν. οἱ δ' εἰδότες τὸ πρᾶγμα
ἐφ' ὃ ἀπεστάλκεσαν ἐπεβοήθουν.[2]

10 Ὁ μέντοι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἁρμοστὴς ἐπεὶ ᾔσθετο
τὸ νυκτερινὸν κήρυγμα, εὐθὺς ἔπεμψεν εἰς Πλα-
ταιὰς καὶ Θεσπιὰς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν
Πλαταιᾶς αἰσθόμενοι προσιόντας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων
ἱππεῖς, ἀπαντήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν πλέον
ἢ εἴκοσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον ταῦτα πράξαντες
καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων ἤδη παρῆσαν,
11 προσέβαλον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὡς δὲ ἔγνωσαν
οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ὀλίγοι ὄντες, τήν τε προθυμίαν
τῶν προσιόντων ἁπάντων ἑώρων, καὶ τῶν κηρυ-

[1] Inserted by Kel., following Dindorf.

[2] Inserted by Kel. The text of the last four lines of this section is probably corrupt.

done, Phillidas took two of the men and went to the prison, and told the keeper of the prison that he was bringing a man from the polemarchs who was to be shut up. And as soon as the keeper opened the door, they immediately killed him and released the prisoners. Then they speedily armed these men with weapons which they took down from the portico, and, leading them to the Ampheum,[1] ordered them to stand under arms. After this they immediately made proclamation to all the Thebans, both horsemen and hoplites, to come forth from their houses, saying that the tyrants were dead. The citizens, however, so long as night lasted, remained quiet out of distrust; but when day came, and what had taken place was evident, then both the hoplites and the horsemen speedily rushed forth with their arms to lend aid. The returned exiles also sent horsemen to fetch the troops of the Athenians who were on the borders under two of the generals. And the latter, knowing the purpose for which they had sent out the horsemen, came to their aid. 379 B.C.

Now when the Lacedaemonian governor in the Acropolis heard the proclamation of the night, he at once sent to Plataea and Thespiae for help. And the Theban horsemen, upon perceiving that the Plataeans were approaching, went out to meet them and killed more than twenty of them; then as soon as they had re-entered the city after this achievement, and the Athenians from the borders had arrived, they made an attack upon the Acropolis. Now when those in the Acropolis realized that they were few in number, and saw the spirit of all who were coming against

[1] The shrine of the Theban hero Amphion.

γμάτων μεγάλων γιγνομένων τοῖς πρώτοις ἀναβᾶσιν, ἐκ τούτων φοβηθέντες εἶπον ὅτι ἀπίοιεν ἄν, εἰ σφίσιν ἀσφάλειαν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπιοῦσι διδοῖεν. οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοί τε ἔδοσαν ἃ ᾔτουν, καὶ σπεισάμενοι καὶ ὅρκους ὀμόσαντες ἐπὶ τούτοις
12 ἐξέπεμπον. ἐξιόντων μέντοι, ὅσους ἐπέγνωσαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ἀπέκτειναν. ἦσαν δέ τινες οἳ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων ἐπιβοηθησάντων ἐξεκλάπησαν καὶ διεσώθησαν. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀποθανόντων, ὅσοις ἦσαν, λαβόντες ἀπέσφαξαν.

13 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὸν μὲν ἁρμοστὴν τὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ οὐκ ἀναμείναντα τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέκτειναν, φρουρὰν δὲ φαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους. καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν λέγων ὅτι ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἀφ᾽ ἥβης εἴη, καὶ ὥσπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τηλικούτοις οὐκέτι ἀνάγκη εἴη τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἔξω στρατεύεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ καὶ βασιλεῦσι τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον ὄντα ἀπεδείκνυε. κἀκεῖνος μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο. οὐ μέντοι τούτου γ᾽ ἕνεκεν κατέμεινεν, ἀλλ᾽ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰ στρατηγοίη, λέξοιεν οἱ πολῖται ὡς Ἀγησίλαος, ὅπως βοηθήσειε τοῖς τυράννοις, πράγματα τῇ πόλει παρέχοι. εἴα οὖν αὐτοὺς βουλεύεσθαι ὁποῖόν τι
14 βούλοιντο περὶ τούτων. οἱ δ᾽ ἔφοροι διδασκόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐν Θήβαις σφαγὰς ἐκπεπτωκότων, Κλεόμβροτον ἐκπέμπουσι, πρῶτον τότε

them,—for there were also offers of large prizes to those who should first ascend the Acropolis—being frightened in consequence of these things, they said that they would withdraw if the Thebans would allow them to do so in safety, keeping their arms. And the Thebans gladly granted what they asked, and after making a truce and giving their oaths let them go forth on these terms. As they were on their way out, however, the citizens seized and killed all whom they recognized as belonging to the number of their political foes. There were some, indeed, who were spirited away and saved by the Athenians who had come from the borders with their supporting force. But the Thebans even seized the children of those who had been killed, whenever they had children, and slaughtered them. 379 B.C.

When the Lacedaemonians learned of these events, they put to death the governor who had abandoned the Acropolis instead of waiting for the relief force, and called out the ban against the Thebans. Now Agesilaus said that it was more than forty years since he had come of military age, and pointed out that just as other men of his age were no longer bound to serve outside their own country, so the same law applied to kings also. He, then, on this plea would not undertake the campaign. It was not, however, for this reason that he stayed at home, but because he well knew that if he was in command the citizens would say that Agesilaus was making trouble for the state in order that he might give assistance to tyrants. Therefore he let them decide as they would about this matter. But the ephors, hearing the stories of those who had been banished after the slaughter in Thebes, sent out Cleombrotus,[1]—this being the first time that

[1] Successor of Agesipolis.

ἡγούμενον, μάλα χειμῶνος ὄντος. τὴν μὲν οὖν δι'
Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδὸν Χαβρίας ἔχων Ἀθηναίων πελ-
τταστὰς ἐφύλαττεν· ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέβαινε
κατὰ τὴν ἐς Πλαταιὰς φέρουσαν. προϊόντες δὲ
οἱ πελτασταὶ περιτυγχάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ
φυλάττουσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνακείου λελυμένοις, ὡς
περὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα οὖσι. καὶ τούτους
μὲν ἅπαντας, εἰ μή τις ἐξέφυγεν, οἱ πελτασταὶ
ἀπέκτειναν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατέβαινε πρὸς τὰς Πλα-
15 ταιάς, ἔτι φιλίας οὔσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Θεσπιὰς
ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμηθεὶς εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς
οὔσας Θηβαίων ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. μείνας δὲ
ἐκεῖ περὶ ἑκκαίδεκα ἡμέρας ἀπεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς
Θεσπιάς· κἀκεῖ μὲν ἁρμοστὴν κατέλιπε Σφοδρίαν
καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἑκάστων·
παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα ὅσα ἐτύγχανεν
οἴκοθεν ἔχων, καὶ ἐκέλευσε ξενικὸν προσμισθοῦ-
16 σθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν. ὁ δὲ
Κλεόμβροτος ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν διὰ Κρεύσιος
τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ μάλα ἀπο-
ροῦντας πότερά ποτε πόλεμος πρὸς Θηβαίους ἢ
εἰρήνη εἴη· ἤγαγε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων
τὸ στράτευμα, ἀπῆλθε δὲ ὡς ἐδύνατο ἐλάχιστα
17 κακουργήσας. ἀπιόντι γε μὴν ἄνεμος αὐτῷ ἐξαί-
σιος ἐπεγένετο, ὃν καὶ οἰωνίζοντό τινες σημαίνειν
πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα
βίαια ἐποίησεν, ἀτὰρ καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ
μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκ τῆς Κρεύσιος τὸ καθῆκον

he had a command,—in the dead of winter. Now the road which leads through Eleutherae was guarded by Chabrias with peltasts of the Athenians; but Cleombrotus climbed the mountain[1] by the road leading to Plataea. And at the summit of the pass his peltasts, who were leading the advance, found the men who had been released from the prison, about one hundred and fifty in number, on guard. And the peltasts killed them all, except for one or another who may have escaped; whereupon Cleombrotus descended to Plataea, which was still friendly. Then after he had arrived at Thespiae, he went on from there to Cynoscephalae, which belonged to the Thebans, and encamped. But after remaining there about sixteen days he retired again to Thespiae. There he left Sphodrias as governor and a third part of each contingent of the allies; he also gave over to Sphodrias all the money which he chanced to have brought from home and directed him to hire a force of mercenaries besides. Sphodrias, then, set about doing this. Meanwhile Cleombrotus proceeded to conduct the soldiers under his command back homeward by the road which leads through Creusis, the troops being vastly puzzled to know whether there was really war between them and the Thebans, or peace; for he had led his army into the country of the Thebans and then departed after doing just as little damage as he could. While he was on the homeward way, however, an extraordinary wind beset him, which some indeed augured was a sign foreshadowing what was going to happen.[2] For it not only did many other violent things, but when he had left Creusis with his army and was crossing the 379 B.C.

[1] Mt. Cithaeron. [2] *cp.* VI. iv. 2–15.

ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὄρος πολλοὺς μὲν ὄνους κατε-
κρήμνισεν αὐτοῖς σκεύεσι, πάμπολλα δὲ ὅπλα
18 ἀφαρπασθέντα ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. τέλος
δὲ πολλοὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις πορεύ-
εσθαι, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τοῦ ἄκρου κατέλιπον λίθων
ἐμπλήσαντες ὑπτίας τὰς ἀσπίδας. καὶ τότε μὲν
τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἐν Αἰγοσθένοις ἐδείπνησαν ὡς
ἐδύναντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐλθόντες ἐκομίσαντο
τὰ ὅπλα. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἴκαδε ἤδη ἕκαστοι
ἀπῇσαν. ἀφῆκε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλεόμβροτος.

19 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ὁρῶντες τὴν τῶν Λακε-
δαιμονίων ῥώμην καὶ ὅτι πόλεμος ἐν Κορίνθῳ
οὐκέτι ἦν, ἀλλ' ἤδη παριόντες τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐνέβαλλον, οὕτως
ἐφοβοῦντο ὥστε καὶ τὼ δύο στρατηγώ, οἳ συνη-
πιστάσθην τὴν τοῦ Μέλωνος ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ
Λεοντιάδην ἐπανάστασιν, κρίναντες τὸν μὲν ἀπέ-
κτειναν, τὸν δ', ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἐφυγάδευσαν.

20 Οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ φοβούμενοι, εἰ
μηδένες ἄλλοι ἢ αὐτοὶ πολεμήσοιεν τοῖς Λακεδαι-
μονίοις, τοιόνδε εὑρίσκουσι μηχάνημα. πείθουσι
τὸν ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς ἁρμοστὴν Σφοδρίαν, χρή-
ματα δόντες, ὡς ὑπωπτεύετο, ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν
Ἀττικήν, ἵν' ἐκπολεμώσειε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. κἀκεῖνος πειθόμενος αὐ-
τοῖς, προσποιησάμενος τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλήψε-
σθαι, ὅτι δὴ ἀπύλωτος ἦν, ἦγεν ἐκ τῶν Θεσπιῶν
πρῲ δειπνήσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας, φάσκων πρὸ

mountain ridge which runs down to the sea, it hurled down the precipice great numbers of pack-asses, baggage and all, while very many shields were snatched away from the soldiers and fell into the sea. Finally many of the men, unable to proceed with all their arms, left their shields behind here and there on the summit of the ridge, putting them down on their backs and filling them with stones. On that day, then, they took dinner as best they could at Aegosthena in the territory of Megara; and on the following day they went back and recovered their shields. After this all returned at once to their several homes; for Cleombrotus dismissed them. 379 B.C.

Now the Athenians, seeing the power of the Lacedaemonians and that the war was no longer in Corinthian territory, but that the Lacedaemonians were now going past Attica and invading the country of Thebes, were so fearful that they brought to trial the two generals who had been privy to the uprising of Melon against Leontiades and his party, put one of them to death, and, since the other did not remain to stand trial, exiled him.

The Thebans, for their part, being also fearful in 378 B.C.
case no others except themselves should make war upon the Lacedaemonians, devised the following expedient. They persuaded Sphodrias, the Lacedaemonian governor at Thespiae,—by giving him money, it was suspected,—to invade Attica, that so he might involve the Athenians in war with the Lacedaemonians. And he in obedience to their persuasions, professing that he would capture Piraeus, inasmuch as it still had no gates,[1] led forth his troops from Thespiae after they had taken an early dinner, saying

[1] *cp.* IV. viii. 9, 10.

21 ἡμέρας καθανύσειν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. Θριᾶσι δ' αὐτῷ ἡμέρα ἐπεγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθ' ἐποίησεν ὥστε λαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀπετράπετο, βοσκήματα διήρπασε καὶ οἰκίας ἐπόρθησε. τῶν δ' ἐντυχόντων τινὲς τῆς νυκτὸς φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι στράτευμα πάμπολυ προσίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχὺ ὁπλισάμενοι καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ ὁπλῖται ἐν φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως ἦσαν.
22 τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρέσβεις ἐτύγχανον Ἀθήνησιν ὄντες παρὰ Καλλίᾳ τῷ προξένῳ Ἐτυμοκλῆς τε καὶ Ἀριστόλοχος καὶ Ὤκυλλος· οὓς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἠγγέλθη, συλλαβόντες ἐφύλαττον, ὡς καὶ τούτους συνεπιβουλεύοντας. οἱ δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι τε ἦσαν τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἀπελογοῦντο ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε οὕτω μῶροι ἦσαν ὡς εἰ ᾔδεσαν καταλαμβανόμενον τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἂν ὑποχειρίους αὑτοὺς παρεῖχον, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῷ προξένῳ, οὗ τάχιστ' ἂν
23 ηὑρέθησαν. ἔτι δ' ἔλεγον ὡς εὔδηλον καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔσοιτο ὅτι οὐδ' ἡ πόλις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συνῄδει. Σφοδρίαν γὰρ εὖ εἰδέναι ἔφασαν ὅτι ἀπολωλότα πεύσοιντο ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως. κἀκεῖνοι μὲν κριθέντες μηδὲν συνειδέναι
24 ἀφείθησαν. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι ἀνεκάλεσάν τε τὸν Σφοδρίαν καὶ ὑπῆγον θανάτου. ἐκεῖνος μέντοι φοβούμενος οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν· ὅμως δὲ καίπερ οὐχ

that he would finish the journey to Piraeus before daybreak. But he was still at Thria when daylight came upon him, and then he made no effort to escape observation, but on the contrary, when he had turned about, seized cattle and plundered houses. Meanwhile some of those who fell in with him during the night fled to the city and reported to the Athenians that a very large army was coming against them. So they speedily armed themselves, both horsemen and hoplites, and kept guard over the city. Now it chanced also that there were ambassadors of the Lacedaemonians in Athens at the house of Callias, their diplomatic agent,—Etymocles, Aristolochus, and Ocyllus; and when the matter of the invasion was reported, the Athenians seized these men and kept them under guard, in the belief that they too were concerned in the plot. But they were utterly dismayed over the affair and said in their defence that if they had known that an attempt was being made to seize Piraeus, they would never have been so foolish as to put themselves in the power of the Athenians in the city, and, still less, at the house of their diplomatic agent, where they would most speedily be found. They said, further, that it would become clear to the Athenians also that the Lacedaemonian state was not cognizant of this attempt, either. For as to Sphodrias, they said they well knew that they would hear that he had been put to death by the state. They accordingly were adjudged to be without any knowledge of the affair and were released. But the ephors recalled Sphodrias and brought capital charges against him. He, however, out of fear did not obey the summons; but nevertheless, although he did not obey and 378 B.C.

ὑπακούων εἰς τὴν κρίσιν ἀπέφυγε. καὶ πολλοῖς
ἔδοξεν αὕτη δὴ ἀδικώτατα ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἡ δίκη
κριθῆναι. ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦτο τὸ αἴτιον.
25 Ἦν υἱὸς τῷ Σφοδρίᾳ Κλεώνυμος ἡλικίαν τε
ἔχων τὴν ἄρτι ἐκ παίδων, καὶ ἅμα κάλλιστός τε
καὶ εὐδοκιμώτατος τῶν ἡλίκων. τούτου δὲ ἐρῶν
ἐτύγχανεν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγησιλάου. οἱ μὲν οὖν
τοῦ Κλεομβρότου φίλοι, ἅτε ἑταῖροι ὄντες τῷ
Σφοδρίᾳ, ἀπολυτικῶς αὐτοῦ εἶχον, τὸν δέ γε
Ἀγησίλαον καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους ἐφοβοῦντο,
καὶ τοὺς διὰ μέσου δέ· δεινὰ γὰρ ἐδόκει πεποιη-
26 κέναι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας εἶπε πρὸς
τὸν Κλεώνυμον· Ἔξεστί σοι, ὦ υἱέ, σῶσαι τὸν
πατέρα, δεηθέντι Ἀρχιδάμου εὐμενῆ Ἀγησίλαον
ἐμοὶ εἰς τὴν κρίσιν παρασχεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας
ἐτόλμησεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, καὶ ἐδεῖτο
27 σωτῆρα αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς γενέσθαι. ὁ μέντοι
Ἀρχίδαμος ἰδὼν μὲν τὸν Κλεώνυμον κλαίοντα
συνεδάκρυε παρεστηκώς· ἀκούσας δὲ δεομένου,
ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλ', ὦ Κλεώνυμε, ἴσθι μὲν ὅτι
ἐγὼ τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ οὐδ' ἀντιβλέπειν δύναμαι,
ἀλλὰ κἄν τι βούλωμαι διαπράξασθαι ἐν τῇ
πόλει, πάντων μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς δέομαι·
ὅμως δ' ἐπεὶ σὺ κελεύεις, νόμιζε πᾶσάν με προ-
28 θυμίαν ἕξειν ταῦτά σοι πραχθῆναι. καὶ τότε
μὲν δὴ ἐκ τοῦ φιλιτίου εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐλθὼν ἀνε-
παύετο· τοῦ δ' ὄρθρου ἀναστὰς ἐφύλαττε μὴ
λάθοι αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἐξελθών. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδεν
αὐτὸν ἐξιόντα, πρῶτον μέν, εἴ τις τῶν πολιτῶν

present himself for the trial, he was acquitted. And 378 B.C. it seemed to many that the decision in this case was the most unjust ever known in Lacedaemon. The reason for it was as follows.

Sphodrias had a son Cleonymus, who was at the age just following boyhood and was, besides, the handsomest and most highly regarded of all the youths of his years. And Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, chanced to be extremely fond of him. Now the friends of Cleombrotus were political associates of Sphodrias, and were therefore inclined to acquit him, but they feared Agesilaus and his friends, and likewise those who stood between the two parties; for it seemed that he had done a dreadful deed. Therefore Sphodrias said to Cleonymus: "It is within your power, my son, to save your father by begging Archidamus to make Agesilaus favourable to me at my trial." Upon hearing this Cleonymus gathered courage to go to Archidamus and begged him for his sake to become the saviour of his father. Now when Archidamus saw Cleonymus weeping, he wept with him as he stood by his side; and when he heard his request, he replied: "Cleonymus, be assured that I cannot even look my father in the face, but if I wish to accomplish some object in the state, I petition everyone else rather than my father; yet nevertheless, since you so bid me, believe that I will use every effort to accomplish this for you." At that time, accordingly, he went from the public mess-room to his home and retired to rest; then he arose at dawn and kept watch, so that his father should not leave the house without his notice. But when he saw him going out, in the first place, if anyone among the citizens was present, he gave way to allow them to

παρῆν, παρίει τούτους διαλέγεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἔπειτα δ', εἴ τις ξένος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τῷ δεομένῳ παρεχώρει. τέλος δ', ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα *ἀπιὼν ὁ* Ἀγησίλαος *εἰσῆλθεν οἴκαδε, ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο οὐδὲ προσελθών. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ*
29 *δὲ ταὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν. ὁ δ'* Ἀγησίλαος *ὑπώπτευε μὲν ὧν ἕνεκεν ἐφοίτα, οὐδὲν μέντοι ἠρώτα, ἀλλ' εἴα αὐτόν. ὁ δ' αὖ* Ἀρχίδαμος *ἐπεθύμει μέν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ὁρᾶν τὸν* Κλεώνυμον· *ὅπως μέντοι ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτὸν μὴ διειλεγμένος τῷ πατρὶ περὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἐδεήθη οὐκ εἶχεν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν* Σφοδρίαν *οὐχ ὁρῶντες τὸν* Ἀρχίδαμον *ἰόντα, πρόσθεν δὲ θαμίζοντα, ἐν παντὶ ἦσαν μὴ λελοι-*
30 *δορημένος ὑπὸ* Ἀγησιλάου *εἴη. τέλος μέντοι ὁ* Ἀρχίδαμος *ἐτόλμησε προσελθεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν·* Ὦ *πάτερ,* Κλεώνυμός *με κελεύει σου δεηθῆναι σῶσαί οἱ τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ἐγὼ ταὐτά σου δέομαι, εἰ δυνατόν. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο·* Ἀλλὰ *σοὶ μὲν ἔγωγε συγγνώμην ἔχω· αὐτὸς μέντοι ὅπως ἂν συγγνώμης τύχοιμι παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄνδρα μὴ καταγιγνώσκων ἀδικεῖν οἷς ἐχρηματίσατο ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς*
31 *πόλεως οὐχ ὁρῶ. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδὲν εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ἡττηθεὶς τοῦ δικαίου ἀπῆλθεν. ὕστερον δὲ ἢ αὐτὸς νοήσας ἢ διδαχθεὶς ὑπό του εἶπεν ἐλθών·* Ἀλλ' *ὅτι μέν, ὦ πάτερ, εἰ μηδὲν ἠδίκει* Σφοδριας, *ἀπέλυσας ἂν αὐτὸν οἶδα· νῦν δέ,*

---

[1] The general gathering place of the Spartans was on the banks of the Eurotas.

converse with Agesilaus, and again, if it was a stranger, he did the same, and again he even made way for any one of his attendants who wished to address him. Finally, when Agesilaus came back from the Eurotas[1] and entered his house, Archidamus went away without even having approached him. On the next day also he acted in the very same way. And Agesilaus, while he suspected for what reason he kept going to and fro with him, nevertheless asked no question, but let him alone. But Archidamus, on the other hand, was eager, naturally enough, to see Cleonymus; still, he did not know how he could go to him without first having talked with his father about the request that Cleonymus had made. And the partisans of Sphodrias, since they did not see Archidamus coming to visit Cleonymus, whereas formerly he had come often, were in the utmost anxiety, fearing that he had been rebuked by Agesilaus. Finally, however, Archidamus gathered courage to approach Agesilaus and say: "Father, Cleonymus bids me request you to save his father; and I make the same request of you, if it is possible." And Agesilaus answered: "For yourself, I grant you pardon; but how I could obtain my own pardon from the state if I failed to pronounce guilty of wrong-doing a man who made traffic for himself to the hurt of the state, I do not see." Now at the time Archidamus said nothing in reply to these words, but yielding to the justice of them, went away. Afterwards, however, whether because he had conceived the idea himself or because it had been suggested to him by some one else, he went to Agesilaus and said: "Father, I know that if Sphodrias had done no wrong, you would have acquitted him; but as it is, 378 B.C.

εἰ ἠδίκηκέ τι, ἡμῶν ἕνεκεν συγγνώμης ὑπὸ σοῦ τυχέτω. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν ἂν μέλλῃ καλὰ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν εἶναι, οὕτως ἔσται. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ'
32 ἀκούσας μάλα δύσελπις ὢν ἀπῄει. τῶν δὲ τοῦ Σφοδρία φίλων τις διαλεγόμενος Ἐτυμοκλεῖ εἶπεν· Ὑμεῖς μέν, οἶμαι, ἔφη, πάντες οἱ Ἀγησιλάου φίλοι ἀποκτενεῖτε τὸν Σφοδρίαν. καὶ ὁ Ἐτυμοκλῆς· Μὰ Δία οὐκ ἄρα ταὔτ', ἔφη, ποιήσομεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνός γε πρὸς πάντας ὅσοις διείλεκται ταὐτὰ λέγει, μὴ ἀδικεῖν μὲν Σφοδρίαν ἀδύνατον εἶναι· ὅστις μέντοι παῖς τε ὢν καὶ παιδίσκος καὶ ἡβῶν πάντα τὰ καλὰ ποιῶν διετέλεσε, χαλεπὸν εἶναι τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἀποκτιννύναι· τὴν γὰρ Σπάρτην τοιούτων δεῖσθαι στρατιωτῶν.
33 ὁ οὖν ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπήγγειλε τῷ Κλεωνύμῳ. ὁ δ' ἡσθείς, εὐθὺς ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον εἶπεν· Ὅτι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐπιμελῇ ἤδη ἴσμεν· εὖ δ' ἐπίστω, Ἀρχίδαμε, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς μήποτε σὺ ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φιλίᾳ αἰσχυνθῇς. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶν ἅπαντ' ἐποίει ὅσα καλὰ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ἐν Λεύκτροις πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μαχόμενος σὺν Δείνωνι τῷ πολεμάρχῳ τρὶς πεσὼν πρῶτος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέθανε. καὶ ἠνίασε μὲν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ὡς δ' ὑπέσχετο, οὐ κατῄσχυνεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκόσμησε. τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ Σφοδρίας ἀπέφυγε.

if he has done something wrong, let him for our sakes obtain pardon at your hands." And Agesilaus said: "Well, if this should be honourable for us, it shall be so." Upon hearing these words Archidamus went away in great despondency. Now one of the friends of Sphodrias in conversation with Etymocles, said to him: "I suppose," said he, "that you, the friends of Agesilaus, are all for putting Sphodrias to death." And Etymocles replied: "By Zeus, then we shall not be following the same course as Agesilaus, for he says to all with whom he has conversed the same thing,—that it is impossible that Sphodrias is not guilty of wrong-doing; but that when, as child, boy, and young man, one has continually performed all the duties of a Spartan, it is a hard thing to put such a man to death; for Sparta has need of such soldiers." The man, then, upon hearing this, reported it to Cleonymus. And he, filled with joy, went at once to Archidamus and said: "We know now that you have a care for us; and be well assured, Archidamus, that we in our turn shall strive to take care that you may never have cause to be ashamed on account of our friendship." And he did not prove false to his words, for not only did he act in all ways as it is deemed honourable for a citizen of Sparta to act while he lived, but at Leuctra,[1] fighting in defence of his king with Deinon the polemarch, he fell three times and was the first of the citizens to lose his life in the midst of the enemy. And while his death caused extreme grief to Archidamus, still, as he promised, he did not bring shame upon him, but rather honour. It was in this way, then, that Sphodrias was acquitted. 378 B.C.

[1] Seven years later; *cp.* VI. iv. 14.

34 Τῶν μέντοι Ἀθηναίων οἱ βοιωτιάζοντες ἐδίδα-
σκον τὸν δῆμον ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὅπως
τιμωρήσαιντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινέσειαν τὸν Σφο-
δρίαν, ὅτι ἐπεβούλευσε ταῖς Ἀθήναις. καὶ ἐκ
τούτου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπύλωσάν τε τὸν Πειραιᾶ,
ναῦς τε ἐναυπηγοῦντο, τοῖς τε Βοιωτοῖς πάσῃ
35 προθυμίᾳ ἐβοήθουν. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
φρουράν τε ἔφηναν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, καὶ τὸν
Ἀγησίλαον νομίσαντες φρονιμώτερον ἂν σφίσι
τοῦ Κλεομβρότου ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ ἄγειν
τὴν στρατιάν. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ὅ τι
τῇ πόλει δοκοίη ἀντειπεῖν[1] παρεσκευάζετο εἰς
36 τὴν ἔξοδον. γιγνώσκων δ' ὅτι εἰ μή τις προ-
καταλήψοιτο τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἔσται
εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐμβαλεῖν, μαθὼν πολεμοῦντας
τοὺς Κλητορίους τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις καὶ ξενικὸν
τρέφοντας, ἐκοινολογήσατο αὐτοῖς, ὅπως γένοιτο[2]
37 τὸ ξενικὸν αὐτῷ, εἴ τι δεηθείη. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ δια-
βατήρια ἐγένετο, πέμψας, πρὶν ἐν Τεγέᾳ αὐτὸς
εἶναι, πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Κλητορί-
οις ξένων, καὶ μισθὸν δοὺς μηνός, ἐκέλευε προ-
καταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα. τοῖς δ'
Ὀρχομενίοις εἶπεν, ἕως στρατεία εἴη, παύσασθαι
τοῦ πολέμου· εἰ δέ τις πόλις στρατιᾶς οὔσης
ἔξω ἐπὶ πόλιν στρατεύσοι, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἔφη πρῶ-
τον ἰέναι κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων.
38 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερέβαλε τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ἐλθὼν

[1] ἀντειπεῖν MSS.: Kel. prefixes ἔχοι.
[2] γένοιτο MSS.: προσγένοιτο Kel.

As for the Athenians, those among them who 378 B.C.
favoured the Boeotians pointed out to the people that the Lacedaemonians had not only not punished Sphodrias, but even commended him, for plotting against Athens. Therefore the Athenians furnished Piraeus with gates, set about building ships, and gave aid to the Boeotians with all zeal. The Lacedaemonians on their side called out the ban against the Thebans, and believing that Agesilaus would lead them with more judgment than Cleombrotus, requested him to act as commander of the army. And he, saying that he would offer no objection to whatever the state thought best, made his preparations for the campaign. Now he knew that unless one first gained possession of Mount Cithaeron, it would not be easy to effect an entrance into the country of Thebes; he therefore, upon learning that the Cletorians were at war with the Orchomenians and were maintaining a force of mercenaries, came to an agreement with them that their mercenary force should be turned over to him if he had any need of it. And when his sacrifices at the frontier had proved favourable, before he had himself reached Tegea he sent to the commander of the mercenaries at Cletor, gave them pay for a month, and ordered them to occupy Cithaeron in advance. Meanwhile he directed the Orchomenians to cease from war so long as his campaign lasted; indeed, if any state undertook an expedition against any other while his army was in the field, he said that his first act would be to go against that state, in accordance with the resolution of the allies.

After Agesilaus had crossed Cithaeron and had

εἰς Θεσπιὰς ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμηθεὶς ᾔει ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων χώραν. εὑρὼν δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένον τε καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένον κύκλῳ τὸ πεδίον καὶ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια τῆς χώρας, στρατοπεδευόμενος ἄλλοτ' ἄλλῃ καὶ μετ' ἄριστον ἐξάγων ἐδῄου τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ τῶν σταυρωμάτων καὶ τῆς τάφρου. οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι, ὅπου ἐπιφαίνοιτο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἀντιπαρῇσαν αὐτῷ
39 *ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι. καί ποτε ἀποχωροῦντος αὐτοῦ ἤδη τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς τέως ἀφανεῖς ὄντες ἐξαίφνης διὰ τῶν ὡδοποιημένων τοῦ χαρακώματος ἐξόδων ἐξελαύνουσι, καὶ οἷα δὴ ἀπιόντων πρὸς δεῖπνον καὶ συσκευαζομένων τῶν πελταστῶν, τῶν δ' ἱππέων τῶν μὲν ἔτι καταβεβηκότων, τῶν δ' ἀναβαινόντων, ἐπελαύνουσι· καὶ τῶν τε πελταστῶν συχνοὺς κατέβαλον καὶ τῶν ἱππέων Κλέαν καὶ Ἐπικυδίδαν Σπαρτιάτας, καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἕνα, Εὔδικον, καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τινὰς φυγάδας, οὔπω ἀναβεβηκότας ἐπὶ τοὺς*
40 *ἵππους. ὡς δὲ ἀναστρέψας σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις ἐβοήθησεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, οἵ τε ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον ἐναντίον τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης ἐκ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἔθει σὺν αὐτοῖς. οἱ μέντοι τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς ἐῴκεσαν ὑποπεπωκόσι που ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ· ὑπέμενον μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐπελαύνουσιν ὥστ' ἐξακοντίζειν τὰ δόρατα, ἐξικνοῦντο δ' οὔ. ἀναστρέφοντες δὲ ἐκ τοσούτου ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν*

arrived at Thespiae, he made that his base of 378 B.C. operations and proceeded against the country of the Thebans. When he found, however, that the plain and the most valuable portions of their territory had been surrounded by a protecting trench and stockade, he encamped now here and now there, and, leading forth his army after breakfast, laid waste those parts of the country which were on his side of the stockade and trench. For wherever Agesilaus appeared, the enemy moved along within the stockade and kept in his front, for the purpose of offering resistance. And once, when he was already withdrawing in the direction of his camp, the cavalry of the Thebans, up to that moment invisible, suddenly dashed out through the exits which had been made in the stockade, and inasmuch as the peltasts of Agesilaus were going away to dinner or were making their preparations for doing so, while the horsemen were some of them still dismounted and others in the act of mounting, the Thebans charged upon them; and they not only struck down a large number of the peltasts, but among the horsemen Cleas and Epicydidas, who were Spartiatae, one of the Perioeci, Eudicus, and some Theban exiles, such as had not yet mounted their horses. But when Agesilaus turned about and came to the rescue with the hoplites, his horsemen charged against the enemy's horsemen and the first ten year-classes of the hoplites ran along with them to the attack. The Theban horsemen, however, acted like men who had drunk a little at midday; for although they awaited the oncoming enemy in order to throw their spears, they threw before they were within range. Still, though they turned about at so great a distance, twelve of them were killed. But

41 δώδεκα. ὡς δὲ κατέγνω ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ὅτι ἀεὶ
μετ᾽ ἄριστον καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐφαίνοντο, θυσά-
μενος ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἦγεν ὡς οἷόν τε τάχιστα, καὶ
παρῆλθε δι᾽ ἐρημίας ἔσω τῶν χαρακωμάτων. ἐκ
δὲ τούτου τὰ ἐντὸς ἔτεμνε καὶ ἔκαε μέχρι τοῦ
ἄστεως. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ πάλιν ἀποχω-
ρήσας εἰς Θεσπιάς, ἐτείχισε τὸ ἄστυ αὐτοῖς. καὶ
ἐκεῖ μὲν Φοιβίδαν κατέλιπεν ἁρμοστήν, αὐτὸς δ᾽
ὑπερβαλὼν πάλιν εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα τοὺς μὲν συμ-
μάχους διῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα ἐπ᾽
οἴκου ἀπήγαγεν.

42 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Φοιβίδας ἐκπέμπων μὲν λῃ-
στήρια ἔφερε καὶ ἦγε τοὺς Θηβαίους, καταδρομὰς
δὲ ποιούμενος ἐκακούργει τὴν χώραν. οἱ δ᾽ αὖ
Θηβαῖοι ἀντιτιμωρεῖσθαι βουλόμενοι στρατεύ-
ουσι πανδημεὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θεσπιῶν χώραν.
ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ὁ Φοιβίδας σὺν τοῖς
πελτασταῖς προσκείμενος οὐδαμοῦ εἴα αὐτοὺς
ἀποσκεδάννυσθαι τῆς φάλαγγος· ὥστε οἱ Θη-
βαῖοι μάλα ἀχθόμενοι τῆς ἐμβολῆς θάττονα τὴν
ἀποχώρησιν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ οἱ ὀρεοκόμοι δὲ ἀπορ-
ριπτοῦντες ὃν εἰλήφεσαν καρπὸν ἀπήλαυνον
οἴκαδε. οὕτω δεινὸς φόβος τῷ στρατεύματι ἐνέ-
43 πεσεν. ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ θρασέως ἐπέκειτο, περὶ
ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἔχων τὸ πελταστικόν, τὸ δ᾽ ὁπλιτικὸν
ἐν τάξει ἕπεσθαι κελεύσας. καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἐγέ-
νετο τροπὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ποιήσασθαι· αὐτός τε
γὰρ ἐρρωμένως ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπτεσθαι
τῶν ἀνδρῶν παρεκελεύετο, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Θεσπιῶν
44 ὁπλίτας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευεν. ὡς δὲ ἀποχωροῦν-
τες οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ νάπῃ ἀδιαβάτῳ
ἐγίγνοντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἡθροίσθησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ

when Agesilaus had noted that it was always after breakfast that the enemy also appeared, he offered sacrifice at daybreak, led his army forward as rapidly as possible, and passed within the stockade at an unguarded point. Then he devastated and burned the region within the enclosure up to the walls of the city. After doing this and withdrawing again to Thespiae, he fortified their city for the Thespians. There he left Phoebidas as governor, while he himself crossed the mountain again to Megara, disbanded the allies, and led his citizen troops back home. 378 B.C.

After this Phoebidas plundered the Thebans by sending out bands of freebooters, while by making raids he devastated their land. The Thebans, on their side, desiring to avenge themselves, made an expedition with their entire force against the country of the Thespians. But when they were within the territory of Thespiae, Phoebidas pressed them close with his peltasts and did not allow them to stray at any point from their phalanx; so that the Thebans in great vexation proceeded to retreat more rapidly than they had advanced, and their mule-drivers also threw away the produce which they had seized and pushed for home; so dreadful a panic had fallen upon the army. Meanwhile Phoebidas pressed upon them boldly, having with him his peltasts and giving orders to the hoplites to follow in battle order. Indeed, he conceived the hope of putting the Thebans to rout; for while he himself was leading on stoutly, he was exhorting the others to attack the enemy and ordering the hoplites of the Thespians to follow. But when the horsemen of the Thebans as they retired came to an impassable ravine, they first gathered together and then turned to face him, not knowing

ἀνέστρεφον διὰ τὸ ἀπορεῖν ὅπῃ διαβαῖεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πελτασταὶ ὀλίγοι ὄντες οἱ πρῶτοι φοβηθέντες αὐτοὺς ἔφυγον· οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς αὖ τοῦτο ὡς εἶδον, ἐδιδάχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς.
45 *καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Φοιβίδας καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τούτου γενομένου πάντες ἔφυγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας τῶν Θεσπιῶν, κἀκεῖνοι, μάλα πρόσθεν μέγα φρονοῦντες μὴ ὑπείξειν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἔφυγον, οὐδέν τι πάνυ διωκόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψέ. καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοί, ὅμως δὲ οὐ πρόσθεν ἔστησαν οἱ Θεσπιεῖς, πρὶν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἐγένοντο.*
46 *ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν αὖ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων ἀνεζωπυρεῖτο, καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐς Θεσπιὰς καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις. ὁ μέντοι δῆμος ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἀπεχώρει. ἐν πάσαις γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσι δυναστεῖαι καθειστήκεσαν, ὥσπερ ἐν Θήβαις· ὥστε καὶ οἱ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι φίλοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βοηθείας ἐδέοντο. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Φοιβίδα θάνατον πολέμαρχον μὲν καὶ μόραν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ θάλατταν πέμψαντες τὰς Θεσπιὰς ἐφύλαττον.*

47 *Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέστη, πάλιν ἔφαινον φρουρὰν οἱ ἔφοροι εἰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, ᾗπερ τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐδέοντο ἡγεῖσθαι. ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμβολῆς ταὐτὰ γιγνώσκων, πρὶν καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια θύεσθαι, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν ἐν Θεσπιαῖς πολέμαρχον ἐκέλευε προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς*

where they could cross. Now the peltasts were few 378 B.C. in number; the foremost of them were therefore seized with fear of the horsemen and took to flight; but when the horsemen, in their turn, saw this, they applied the lesson they had learned from the fugitives and attacked them. So then Phoebidas and two or three with him fell fighting, and when this happened the mercenaries all took to flight. And when as they fled they came to the hoplites of the Thespians, these also, though previously they had been quite proudly confident that they would not give way before the Thebans, took to flight without so much as being pursued at all. For by this time it was too late in the day for a pursuit. Now not many of the Thespians were killed, but nevertheless they did not stop until they got within their wall. As a result of this affair the spirits of the Thebans were kindled again, and they made expeditions to Thespiae and to the other cities round about them. The democratic factions, however, withdrew from these cities to Thebes. For in all of them oligarchical governments had been established, just as in Thebes[1]; the result was that the friends of the Lacedaemonians in these cities were in need of aid. But after the death of Phoebidas the Lacedaemonians merely sent over by sea a polemarch and one regiment, and thus kept Thespiae garrisoned.

When the spring came, however, the ephors again 377 B.C. called out the ban against Thebes and, just as before, requested Agesilaus to take command. Now since he held the same views as before about invading Boeotia,[2] he sent to the polemarch at Thespiae before even offering the sacrifice at the frontier and ordered him

[1] *i.e.* formerly; *cp.* § 1. [2] See § 36 above.

κατὰ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ὁδοῦ ἄκρον καὶ φυλάττειν,
48 ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὑπερβαλὼν ἐν ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς ἐγένετο, πάλιν προσεποιήσατο εἰς τὰς Θεσπιὰς πρῶτον ἰέναι, καὶ πέμπων ἀγοράν τε ἐκέλευε παρασκευάζειν καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας ἐκεῖ περιμένειν· ὥστε οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἰσχυρῶς τὴν
49 πρὸς Θεσπιῶν ἐμβολὴν ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ θυσάμενος ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἐπ' Ἐρυθράς. καὶ ὡς στρατεύματι δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν ἐν μιᾷ καθανύσας, ἔφθασεν ὑπερβὰς τὸ κατὰ Σκῶλον σταύρωμα, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς, καθ' ἣν τὸ πρόσθεν εἰσῆλθεν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας τὰ πρὸς ἕω τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως ἐδῄου μέχρι τῆς Ταναγραίων· ἔτι γὰρ τότε καὶ τὴν Τάναγραν οἱ περὶ Ὑπατόδωρον, φίλοι ὄντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, εἶχον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἀπῄει ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων
50 τὸ τεῖχος. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ὑπελθόντες ἀντετάξαντο ἐπὶ Γραὸς στήθει, ὄπισθεν ἔχοντες τήν τε τάφρον καὶ τὸ σταύρωμα, νομίζοντες καλὸν εἶναι ἐνταῦθα διακινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ στενὸν ἦν ταύτῃ ἐπιεικῶς καὶ δύσβατον τὸ χωρίον. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἰδὼν ταῦτα πρὸς ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἦγεν, ἐπι-
51 σιμώσας δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ᾔει. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι δείσαντες περὶ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι ἐρήμη ἦν, ἀπολιπόντες ἔνθα παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν δρόμῳ

to occupy in advance the summit overlooking the road 377 B.C. which leads over Cithaeron and to guard it until he himself arrived. And when he had passed this point and arrived at Plataea, he pretended that he was again going to Thespiae first, and sending thither he gave orders that a market should be made ready and that the embassies should await him there; so that the Thebans guarded strongly the pass leading from Thespiae into their country. But on the following day at daybreak, after offering sacrifices, Agesilaus proceeded by the road to Erythrae. And after accomplishing in one day a two days' march for an army, he passed the line of the stockade at Scolus before the Thebans returned from keeping guard at the place where he had entered on the previous occasion. Having done this, he laid waste the region to the east of the city of the Thebans, as far as the territory of the Tanagraeans; for at that time Hypatodorus and his followers, who were friends of the Lacedaemonians, still held possession of Tanagra. After this he proceeded to retire, keeping the wall of Tanagra on his left. Meanwhile the Thebans came up quietly and formed in line of battle against him on the hill called Old Woman's Breast, with the trench and the stockade in their rear, believing that this was a good place to risk a battle; for the ground at this point was a rather narrow strip and hard to traverse. When Agesilaus observed this, he did not lead his army against them, but turned aside and proceeded in the direction of the city. The Thebans, on the other hand, being seized with fear for their city, because it was empty of defenders, abandoned the place where they were drawn up and hurried toward the city on the run, by the road

ἔθεον εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐπὶ Ποτνιὰς ὁδόν· ἦν γὰρ
αὕτη ἀσφαλεστέρα. καὶ μέντοι ἐδόκει καλὸν
γενέσθαι τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, ὅτι πόρρω
ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποχωρεῖν δρόμῳ
αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν· ὅμως μέντοι ἐπὶ παραθέοντας
αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμάρχων τινὲς ἐπέδραμον σὺν
52 ταῖς μόραις. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων
τὰ δόρατα ἐξηκόντιζον, ὥστε καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ἀλύ-
πητος, εἷς τῶν πολεμάρχων, ἀκοντισθεὶς δόρατι·
ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ λόφου ἐτράπησαν οἱ
Θηβαῖοι· ὥστε ἀναβάντες οἱ Σκιρῖται καὶ τῶν
ἱππέων τινὲς ἔπαιον τοὺς τελευταίους τῶν Θη-
53 βαίων παρελαύνοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ὡς μέντοι
ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ἐγένοντο, ὑποστρέφουσιν οἱ
Θηβαῖοι· οἱ δὲ Σκιρῖται ἰδόντες αὐτοὺς θᾶττον ἢ
βάδην ἀπῆλθον. καὶ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν·
ὅμως δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο, ὅτι
54 ἀπεχώρησαν οἱ ἀναβάντες. ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος,
ἐπεὶ ὥρα ἦν, ἀπελθὼν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἔνθαπερ
τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδε παρατεταγμένους· τῇ δ'
ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήγαγε τὴν ἐπὶ Θεσπιάς. θρασέως
δὲ παρακολουθούντων τῶν πελταστῶν, οἳ ἦσαν
μισθοφόροι τοῖς Θηβαίοις, καὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν ἀνα-
καλούντων, ὅτι οὐκ ἠκολούθει, ὑποστραφέντες οἱ
τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἱππεῖς, ἤδη γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους
συνεστρατεύοντο, ἐδίωξάν τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὄρθιον,
καθάπερ ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν μάλα
πολλούς· ταχὺ γὰρ πρὸς ἄναντες εὐήλατον ἁλί-
55 σκονται πεζοὶ ὑφ' ἱππέων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο ὁ

which leads to Potniae; for this was the safer route. 377 B.C. And it really seemed that Agesilaus' expedient proved a clever one, for though he led his army directly away from the enemy, he caused the latter to retire on the run, and while the enemy ran past, some of his polemarchs with their regiments nevertheless succeeded in charging upon them. The Thebans, however, hurled their spears from the hill-tops, so that Alypetus, one of the polemarchs, was struck and killed; but in spite of that the Thebans were put to flight from this hill also. Consequently the Sciritans and some of the horsemen climbed the hill and showered blows upon the hindmost of the Thebans as they rushed past them toward the city. As soon as they got near the wall, however, the Thebans turned about; and the Sciritans, upon seeing them, fell back at a faster pace than a walk. Now not one of them was killed; nevertheless, the Thebans set up a trophy, because after climbing the hill the Sciritans had retired. As for Agesilaus, when it was time for him to do so, he withdrew and encamped at the very spot where he had seen the enemy drawn up; then on the following day he led his army away by the road to Thespiae. But since the peltasts who were mercenaries in the service of the Thebans clung boldly at his heels, and kept calling out to Chabrias because he was not doing the same, the horsemen of the Olynthians—for they were now serving with the Lacedaemonians in accordance with their sworn agreement—wheeled about and, once in pursuit of the peltasts, chased them on up a slope and killed very many of them; for when going up a hill where the riding is good foot-soldiers are quickly overtaken by horsemen.

Ἀγησίλαος ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς, εὑρὼν στασιάζοντας τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ βουλομένων τῶν φασκόντων λακωνίζειν ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἐναντίους, ὧν καὶ Μένων ἦν, τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε· διαλλάξας δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅρκους ὀμόσαι ἀλλήλοις ἀναγκάσας, οὕτως ἀπῆλθε πάλιν διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος τὴν ἐπὶ Μέγαρα. καὶ ἐκεῖθεν τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε.

56 Μάλα δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι σπάνει σίτου διὰ τὸ δυοῖν ἐτοῖν μὴ εἰληφέναι καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ δυοῖν τριήροιν ἄνδρας εἰς Παγασὰς ἐπὶ σῖτον δέκα τάλαντα δόντες. Ἀλκέτας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυλάττων Ὠρεόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν σῖτον συνεωνοῦντο, ἐπληρώσατο τρεῖς τριήρεις, ἐπιμεληθεὶς ὅπως μὴ ἐξαγγελθείη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγετο ὁ σῖτος, λαμβάνει ὁ Ἀλκέτας τόν τε σῖτον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐζώγρησεν οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντας[1] ἢ τριακοσίους. τούτους δὲ εἶρξεν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, οὗπερ αὐτὸς
57 ἐσκήνου. ἀκολουθοῦντος δέ τινος τῶν Ὠρειτῶν παιδός, ὡς ἔφασαν, μάλα καλοῦ τε κἀγαθοῦ, καταβαίνων ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως περὶ τοῦτον ἦν. καταγνόντες δὲ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι τὴν ἀμέλειαν, καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀφίσταται· ὥστ' εὐπόρως ἤδη οἱ Θηβαῖοι σῖτον παρεκομίζοντο.

58 Ὑποφαίνοντος δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἦρος ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος κλινοπετὴς ἦν. ὅτε γὰρ ἀπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις

[1] Omitted in the MSS. except C: Kel. brackets.

Now when Agesilaus had arrived at Thespiae, finding that the citizens were involved in factional strife, and that those who said they were supporters of Lacedaemon wanted to put to death their opponents, of whom Menon was one, he did not allow this proceeding; but he reconciled them and compelled them to give oaths to one another, and then, this being accomplished, he came back again by way of Cithaeron, taking the road leading to Megara. From there he dismissed the allies and led his citizen troops back home. 377 B.C.

The Thebans were now greatly pinched for want of corn, because they had got no crops from their land for two years; they therefore sent men and two triremes to Pagasae after corn, giving them ten talents. But while they were buying up the corn, Alcetas, the Lacedaemonian who was keeping guard in Oreus, manned three triremes, taking care that the fact should not be reported. And when the corn was on its way from Pagasae, Alcetas captured both corn and triremes, and made prisoners of the men, who were not fewer than three hundred in number. These men he then shut up in the Acropolis, where he himself had his quarters. Now since, as the story ran, there was a boy of Oreus, an extremely fine lad too, who was always in attendance upon him, Alcetas went down from the Acropolis and occupied himself with this boy. Accordingly the prisoners, observing his carelessness, seized the Acropolis, and the city revolted; so that thereafter the Thebans brought in supplies of corn easily.

As the spring came on again, Agesilaus was confined to his bed. For when he was leading his army back from Thebes, and, in Megara, was 376 B.C.

ἀναβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον ῥήγνυται ὁποία δὴ φλέψ, καὶ ἐρρύη τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος αἷμα εἰς τὸ ὑγιὲς σκέλος. γενομένης δὲ τῆς κνήμης ὑπερόγκου καὶ ὀδυνῶν ἀφορήτων, Συρακόσιός τις ἰατρὸς σχάζει τὴν παρὰ τῷ σφυρῷ φλέβα αὐτοῦ. ὡς δὲ ἅπαξ ἤρξατο, ἔρρει αὐτῷ νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν τὸ αἷμα, καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο σχεῖν τὸ ῥεῦμα πρὶν ἐλιποψύχησε· τότε μέντοι ἐπαύσατο. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀποκομισθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἠρρώστει τό τε λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ διὰ χειμῶνος.

59 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, πάλιν φρουράν τε ἔφαινον καὶ Κλεόμβροτον ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἐγένετο, προῇσαν αὐτῷ οἱ πελτασταὶ ὡς προκαταληψόμενοι τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. Θηβαίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων προκατέχοντές τινες τὸ ἄκρον τέως μὲν εἴων αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνειν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, ἐξαναστάντες ἐδίωκον καὶ ἀπέκτειναν περὶ τετταράκοντα. τούτου δὲ γενομένου ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἀδύνατον νομίσας τὸ ὑπερβῆναι εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων, ἀπῆγέ τε καὶ διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα.

60 Συλλεγέντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, λόγοι ἐγίγνοντο ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων[1] ὅτι διὰ μαλακίαν κατατριβήσοιντο ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. ἐξεῖναι γὰρ σφίσι ναῦς πληρώσαντας πολὺ πλείους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἑλεῖν λιμῷ τὴν πόλιν

[1] ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων MSS.: Kel. brackets.

ascending from the Aphrodisium to the government 376 B.C.
building, some vein or other was ruptured, and the blood from his body poured into his sound[1] leg. Then as the lower part of his leg became immensely swollen and the pain unendurable, a Syracusan surgeon opened the vein at his ankle. But when once the blood had begun to flow, it ran night and day, and with all they could do they were unable to check the flow until he lost consciousness; then, however, it stopped. So it came about that after being carried back to Lacedaemon he was ill the rest of the summer and throughout the winter.

The Lacedaemonians, however, when spring was just beginning, again called out the ban and directed Cleombrotus to take command. Now when he arrived at Cithaeron with the army, his peltasts went on ahead for the purpose of occupying in advance the heights above the road. But some of the Thebans and Athenians who were already in possession of the summit allowed the peltasts to pursue their ascent for a time, but when they were close upon them, rose from their concealment, pursued them, and killed about forty. After this had happened, Cleombrotus, in the belief that it was impossible to cross over the mountain into the country of the Thebans, led back and disbanded his army.

When the allies gathered together at Lacedaemon, speeches were forthcoming from them to the effect that, through slackness in prosecuting the war, they were going to be worn out by it. For they said it was within their power to man far more ships than the Athenians had and to capture their city by starvation;

[1] See III. iii. 3 and note.

αὐτῶν· ἐξεῖναι δ' ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ταύταις ναυσὶ καὶ εἰς Θήβας στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν, εἰ μὲν βούλοιντο, ἐπὶ Φωκέων, εἰ δὲ βούλοιντο, ἐπὶ
61 Κρεύσιος. ταῦτα δὲ λογισάμενοι ἑξήκοντα μὲν τριήρεις ἐπλήρωσαν, Πόλλις δ' αὐτῶν ναύαρχος ἐγένετο. καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν οἱ ταῦτα γνόντες, ἀλλ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπολιορκοῦντο· τὰ γὰρ σιταγωγὰ αὐτοῖς πλοῖα ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Γεραστὸν ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν δ' οὐκέτι ἤθελε παραπλεῖν, τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων περί τε Αἴγιναν καὶ Κέω καὶ Ἄνδρον. γνόντες δ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἐνέβησαν αὐτοὶ εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ναυμαχήσαντες πρὸς τὸν Πόλλιν Χαβρίου ἡγουμένου νικῶσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν σῖτος
62 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὕτω παρεκομίσθη. παρασκευαζομένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βοιωτούς, ἐδεήθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων περὶ Πελοπόννησον στράτευμα πέμψαι, νομίσαντες εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, οὐ δυνατὸν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἅμα μὲν τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία συμμαχίδας πόλεις, ἅμα δὲ στράτευμα
63 διαβιβάζειν ἱκανὸν πρὸς ἑαυτούς. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μέντοι ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διὰ τὸ Σφοδρία ἔργον, προθύμως ἐξέπεμψαν περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ναῦς τε ἑξήκοντα πληρώσαντες καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Τιμόθεον ἑλόμενοι. ἅτε δὲ εἰς τὰς Θήβας οὐκ ἐμβεβληκότων τῶν πολεμίων οὔτ' ἐν ᾧ Κλεόμβροτος ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἔτει οὔτ' ἐν ᾧ Τιμόθεος περιέπλευσε, θρασέως δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπὶ τὰς περιοικίδας

and it was also within their power to transport an army across to Thebes in these same ships, steering for Phocis if they chose, or, if they chose, for Creusis. Influenced by these considerations they manned sixty triremes, and Pollis was made admiral of them. And those who had conceived these views were not disappointed, for the Athenians were in fact as good as besieged; for while their corn ships got as far as Gerastus, they would not now venture to sail along the coast from that point, since the Lacedaemonian fleet was in the neighbourhood of Aegina, Ceos, and Andros. Then the Athenians, realizing the necessity that was upon them, went on board their ships themselves, joined battle with Pollis under the leadership of Chabrias, and were victorious in the battle. Thus the corn was brought in for the Athenians. Again, while the Lacedaemonians were preparing to transport an army across the gulf to proceed against the Boeotians, the Thebans requested the Athenians to send an expedition around Peloponnesus, believing that if this were done it would not be possible for the Lacedaemonians at one and the same time to guard their own country and likewise the allied cities in their neighbourhood, and also to send across an army large enough to oppose themselves, the Thebans. And the Athenians, angry as they were with the Lacedaemonians on account of Sphodrias' act, did eagerly dispatch the expedition around Peloponnesus, manning sixty ships and choosing Timotheus as their commander. Now since the enemy had not invaded the territory of Thebes in the year when Cleombrotus was in command of the army and did not do so in the year when Timotheus made his voyage, the Thebans boldly undertook expeditions against the

876 B.C.

875 B.C.

64 πόλεις καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰς ἀνελάμβανον. ὁ μέντοι
Τιμόθεος περιπλεύσας Κέρκυραν μὲν εὐθὺς ὑφ'
ἑαυτῷ ἐποιήσατο· οὐ μέντοι ἠνδραποδίσατο οὐδὲ
ἄνδρας ἐφυγάδευσεν οὐδὲ νόμους μετέστησεν. ἐξ
ὧν τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα πόλεις πάσας εὐμενεστέρας
65 ἔσχεν. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
ναυτικόν, καὶ Νικόλοχον ναύαρχον, μάλα θρασὺν
ἄνδρα, ἐξέπεμψαν· ὃς ἐπειδὴ εἶδε τὰς μετὰ Τιμο-
θέου ναῦς, οὐκ ἐμέλλησε, καίπερ ἓξ νεῶν αὐτῷ
ἀπουσῶν τῶν Ἀμβρακιωτίδων, ἀλλὰ πέντε καὶ
πεντήκοντα ἔχων ναῦς ἑξήκοντα οὔσαις ταῖς μετὰ
Τιμοθέου ἐναυμάχησε. καὶ τότε μὲν ἡττήθη,
καὶ τροπαῖον ὁ Τιμόθεος ἔστησεν ἐν Ἀλυζείᾳ.
66 ὁ δὲ ἀνειλκυσμένων τῶν Τιμοθέου νεῶν καὶ
ἐπισκευαζομένων, ἐπεὶ παρεγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ
Ἀμβρακιώτιδες ἓξ τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλύζειαν
ἔπλευσεν, ἔνθα ἦν ὁ Τιμόθεος. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἀντ-
ανῆγε, τροπαῖον αὖ κἀκεῖνος ἐστήσατο ἐν ταῖς
ἐγγυτάτω νήσοις. ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος ἐπεὶ ἅς τε εἶχεν
ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ ἐκ Κερκύρας ἄλλας προσεπληρώ-
σατο, γενομένων αὐτῷ τῶν πασῶν πλέον ἑβδομή-
κοντα, πολὺ δὴ ὑπερεῖχε ναυτικῷ· χρήματα μέν-
τοι μετεπέμπετο Ἀθήνηθεν· πολλῶν γὰρ ἐδεῖτο,
ἅτε πολλὰς ναῦς ἔχων.

neighbouring cities of Boeotia and recovered them 375 B.C.
a second time. As for Timotheus, after he had sailed round Peloponnesus he brought Corcyra at once under his control; he did not, however, enslave the inhabitants or banish individuals or change the government. As a result of this he made all the states in that region more favourably inclined to him. The Lacedaemonians, however, manned a fleet to oppose him, and sent out Nicolochus, a very daring man, as admiral; and as soon as he sighted the ships under Timotheus, he did not delay, even though six of his ships, those from Ambracia, were not with him, but with fifty-five ships he joined battle with those under Timotheus, which numbered sixty. And at that time he was defeated, and Timotheus set up a trophy at Alyzeia. But when the ships of Timotheus had been hauled up and were being refitted, and meanwhile the six Ambraciot triremes had joined Nicolochus, he sailed to Alyzeia, where Timotheus was. And since the latter did not put out against him, he in his turn set up a trophy on the nearest islands. When, however, Timotheus finished refitting the ships which he had and had manned, besides, others from Corcyra, the whole number of his ships now amounting to more than seventy, he was far superior to the enemy in the size of his fleet. But he kept sending for money from Athens; for he needed a great deal, inasmuch as he had a great many ships.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
RICHARD CLAY AND COMPANY, LTD.,
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED

Latin Authors

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. *2nd Imp. revised.*)
APULEIUS: THE GOLDEN ASS (METAMORPHOSES). W. Adlington (1566). Revised by S. Gaselee. (*7th Imp.*)
ST. AUGUSTINE, CONFESSIONS OF. W. Watts (1631). 2 Vols. (*5th Imp.*)
ST. AUGUSTINE, SELECT LETTERS. J. H. Baxter.
AUSONIUS. H. G. Evelyn White. 2 Vols.
BEDE. J. E. King. 2 Vols.
BOETHIUS: TRACTS AND DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE. Rev. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand. (*4th Imp.*)
CAESAR: CIVIL WARS. A. G. Peskett. (*4th Imp.*)
CAESAR: GALLIC WAR. H. J. Edwards. (*9th Imp.*)
CATO AND VARRO: DE RE RUSTICA. H. B. Ash and W. D. Hooper. (*2nd Imp.*)
CATULLUS. F. W. Cornish; TIBULLUS. J. B. Postgate; AND PERVIGILIUM VENERIS. J. W. Mackail. (*11th Imp.*)
CELSUS: DE MEDICINA. W. G. Spencer. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp. revised.*)
CICERO: BRUTUS, AND ORATOR. G. L. Hendrickson and H. M. Hubbell. (*2nd Imp.*)
CICERO: DE FINIBUS. H. Rackham. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)
CICERO: DE NATURA DEORUM AND ACADEMICA. H. Rackham.
CICERO: DE OFFICIIS. Walter Miller. (*4th Imp.*)
CICERO: DE ORATORE. 2 Vols. E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham.
CICERO: DE REPUBLICA AND DE LEGIBUS. Clinton W. Keyes. (*2nd Imp.*)
CICERO: DE SENECTUTE, DE AMICITIA, DE DIVINATIONE. W. A. Falconer. (*5th Imp.*)
CICERO: IN CATILINAM, PRO FLACCO, PRO MURENA, PRO SULLA. Louis E. Lord. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)

CICERO: LETTERS TO ATTICUS. E. O. Winstedt. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. *6th Imp.*, Vol. II. *3rd Imp.* and Vol. III. *3rd Imp.*)

CICERO: LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS. W. Glynn Williams. 3 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. *2nd Imp. revised.*)

CICERO: PHILIPPICS. W. C. A. Ker. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)

CICERO: PRO ARCHIA, POST REDITUM, DE DOMO, DE HARUSPICUM RESPONSIS, PRO PLANCIO. N. H. Watts. (*2nd Imp.*)

CICERO: PRO CAECINA, PRO LEGE MANILIA, PRO CLUENTIO, PRO RABIRIO. H. Grose Hodge. (*2nd Imp.*)

CICERO: PRO MILONE, IN PISONEM, PRO SCAURO, PRO FONTEIO, PRO RABIRIO POSTUMO, PRO MARCELLO, PRO LIGARIO, PRO REGE DEIOTARO. N. H. Watts.

CICERO: PRO QUINCTIO, PRO ROSCIO AMERINO, PRO ROSCIO COMOEDO, CONTRA RULLUM. J. H. Freese. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)

CICERO: TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS. J.E.King. (*2nd Imp.*)

CICERO: VERRINE ORATIONS. L. H. G. Greenwood. 2 Vols.

CLAUDIAN. M. Platnauer. 2 Vols.

COLUMELLA: DE RE RUSTICA. H. B. Ash. 3 Vols. Vol. I.

QUINTUS CURTIUS: HISTORY OF ALEXANDER. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols.

FLORUS. E. S. Forster, and CORNELIUS NEPOS. J. C. Rolfe.

FRONTINUS: STRATAGEMS AND AQUEDUCTS. C. E. Bennett and M. B. McElwain.

FRONTO: CORRESPONDENCE. C. R. Haines. 2 Vols.

GELLIUS. J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*)

HORACE: ODES AND EPODES. C. E. Bennett. (*12th Imp. revised.*)

HORACE: SATIRES, EPISTLES, ARS POETICA. H. R. Fairclough. (*7th Imp. revised.*)

JEROME: SELECTED LETTERS. F. A. Wright.

JUVENAL AND PERSIUS. G. G. Ramsay. (*6th Imp.*)

LIVY. B. O. Foster, F. G. Moore, Evan T. Sage, and A. C. Schlesinger. 13 Vols. Vols. I.–VII., IX.–XII. (Vol. I. *3rd Imp.*, Vols. II., III. and IX. *2nd Imp. revised.*)

LUCAN. J. D. Duff. (*2nd Imp.*)

LUCRETIUS. W. H. D. Rouse. (*6th Imp. revised.*)

MARTIAL. W. C. A. Ker. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *5th Imp.*, Vol. II. *3rd Imp. revised.*)

MINOR LATIN POETS: from PUBLILIUS SYRUS to RUTILIUS NAMATIANUS, including GRATTIUS, CALPURNIUS SICULUS, NEMESIANUS, AVIANUS, and others with "Aetna" and the "Phoenix." J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff. (*2nd Imp.*)

OVID: THE ART OF LOVE AND OTHER POEMS. J. H. Mozley. (*3rd Imp.*)

OVID: FASTI. Sir James G. Frazer.

OVID: HEROIDES AND AMORES. Grant Showerman. (*4th Imp.*)
OVID: METAMORPHOSES. F. J. Miller. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *9th Imp.*, Vol. II. *7th Imp.*)
OVID: TRISTIA AND EX PONTO. A. L. Wheeler. (*2nd Imp.*)
PERSIUS. Cf. JUVENAL.
PETRONIUS. M. Heseltine; SENECA: APOCOLOCYNTOSIS. W. H. D. Rouse. (*7th Imp. revised.*)
PLAUTUS. Paul Nixon. 5 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. *4th Imp.*, Vol. III. *3rd Imp.*)
PLINY: LETTERS. Melmoth's Translation revised by W. M. L. Hutchinson. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *5th Imp.*, Vol. II. *4th Imp.*)
PLINY: NATURAL HISTORY. H. Rackham and W. H. S. Jones. 10 Vols. Vols. I.–IV. H. Rackham. (Vol. I. *3rd Imp.*)
PROPERTIUS. H. E. Butler. (*5th Imp.*)
QUINTILIAN. H. E. Butler. 4 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
REMAINS OF OLD LATIN. E. H. Warmington. 4 Vols. Vol. I. (ENNIUS AND CAECILIUS.) Vol. II. (LIVIUS, NAEVIUS, PACUVIUS, ACCIUS.) Vol. III. (LUCILIUS AND LAWS OF XII TABLES.) Vol. IV. (ARCHAIC INSCRIPTIONS.)
SALLUST. J. C. Rolfe. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)
SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE. D. Magie. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp. revised.*)
SENECA: APOCOLOCYNTOSIS. Cf. PETRONIUS.
SENECA: EPISTULAE MORALES. R. M. Gummere. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. *3rd Imp.*, Vols. II. and III. *2nd Imp. revised.*)
SENECA: MORAL ESSAYS. J. W. Basore. 3 Vols. (Vols. II. and III. *2nd Imp. revised.*)
SENECA: TRAGEDIES. F. J. Miller. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *3rd Imp.*, Vol. II. *2nd Imp. revised.*)
SIDONIUS: POEMS AND LETTERS. W. B. Anderson. 2 Vols. Vol. I.
SILIUS ITALICUS. J. D. Duff. 2 Vols. (Vol. II. *2nd Imp.*)
STATIUS. J. H. Mozley. 2 Vols.
SUETONIUS. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *6th Imp.*, Vol. II. *5th Imp. revised.*)
TACITUS: DIALOGUS. Sir Wm. Peterson. AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA. Maurice Hutton. (*6th Imp.*)
TACITUS: HISTORIES AND ANNALS. C. H. Moore and J. Jackson. 4 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. *2nd Imp.*)
TERENCE. John Sargeaunt. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *6th Imp.*, Vol. II. *5th Imp.*)
TERTULLIAN: APOLOGIA AND DE SPECTACULIS. T. R. Glover. MINUCIUS FELIX. G. H. Rendall.
VALERIUS FLACCUS. J. H. Mozley. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)
VARRO: DE LINGUA LATINA. R. G. Kent. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
VELLEIUS PATERCULUS AND RES GESTAE DIVI AUGUSTI. F. W. Shipley.

VIRGIL. H. R. Fairclough. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *16th Imp.*, Vol. II. *13th Imp. revised.*)
VITRUVIUS: DE ARCHITECTURA. F. Granger. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*)

Greek Authors

ACHILLES TATIUS. S. Gaselee.
AENEAS TACTICUS, ASCLEPIODOTUS AND ONASANDER. The Illinois Greek Club.
AESCHINES. C. D. Adams.
AESCHYLUS. H. Weir Smyth. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *5th Imp.*, Vol. II. *4th Imp.*)
ANDOCIDES ANTIPHON. Cf. MINOR ATTIC ORATORS.
APOLLODORUS. Sir James G. Frazer. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
APOLLONIUS RHODIUS. R. C. Seaton. (*4th Imp.*)
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS. Kirsopp Lake. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *6th Imp.*, Vol. II. *5th Imp.*)
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY. Horace White. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. *3rd Imp.*, Vols. II., III. and IV. *2nd Imp.*)
ARATUS. Cf. CALLIMACHUS.
ARISTOPHANES. Benjamin Bickley Rogers. 3 Vols. Verse trans. (*4th Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: ART OF RHETORIC. J. H. Freese. (*3rd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION, EUDEMIAN ETHICS, VICES AND VIRTUES. H. Rackham. (*2nd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: GENERATION OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck.
ARISTOTLE: METAPHYSICS. H. Tredennick. 2 Vols. (*3rd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: MINOR WORKS. W. S. Hett. On Colours, On Things Heard, On Physiognomies, On Plants, On Marvellous Things Heard, Mechanical Problems, On Indivisible Lines, On Position and Names of Winds.
ARISTOTLE: NICOMACHEAN ETHICS. H. Rackham. (*5th Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: OECONOMICA AND MAGNA MORALIA. G. C. Armstrong; (with Metaphysics, Vol. II.). (*3rd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: ON THE HEAVENS. W. K. C. Guthrie. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: ON THE SOUL, PARVA NATURALIA, ON BREATH. W. S. Hett. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: ORGANON. H. P. Cooke and H. Tredennick. 2 Vols. Vol. I.
ARISTOTLE: PARTS OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck; MOTION AND PROGRESSION OF ANIMALS. E. S. Forster. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: PHYSICS. Rev. P. Wicksteed and F. M. Cornford. 2 Vols. (Vol. II. *2nd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: POETICS AND LONGINUS. W. Hamilton Fyfe; DEMETRIUS ON STYLE. W. Rhys Roberts. (*4th Imp. revised.*)

ARISTOTLE: POLITICS. H. Rackham. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: PROBLEMS. W. S. Hett. 2 Vols.
ARISTOTLE: RHETORICA AD ALEXANDRUM (with PROBLEMS .Vol. II.). H. Rackham.
ARRIAN: HISTORY OF ALEXANDER AND INDICA. Rev. E. Iliffe Robson. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*)
ATHENAEUS: DEIPNOSOPHISTAE. C. B. Gulick. 7 Vols. (Vols. V. and VI. *2nd Imp.*)
ST. BASIL: LETTERS. R. J. Deferrari. 4 Vols.
CALLIMACHUS AND LYCOPHRON. A. W. Mair; ARATUS. G. R. Mair.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. Rev. G. W. Butterworth. (*2nd Imp.*)
COLLUTHUS. Cf. OPPIAN.
DAPHNIS AND CHLOE. Thornley's Translation revised by J. M. Edmonds; AND PARTHENIUS. S. Gaselee. (*3rd Imp.*)
DEMOSTHENES: DE CORONA AND DE FALSA LEGATIONE. C. A. Vince and J. H. Vince. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)
DEMOSTHENES: MEIDIAS, ANDROTION, ARISTOCRATES, TIMOCRATES AND ARISTOGEITON, I. AND II. Translated by J. H. Vince.
DEMOSTHENES: OLYNTHIACS, PHILIPPICS AND MINOR ORATIONS: I.–XVII. AND XX. J. H. Vince.
DEMOSTHENES: PRIVATE ORATIONS. A. T. Murray. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*)
DIO CASSIUS: ROMAN HISTORY. E. Cary. 9 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. *2nd Imp.*)
DIO CHRYSOSTOM. J. W. Cohoon and H. Lamar Crosby. 5 Vols. Vols. I.–IV.
DIODORUS SICULUS. C. H. Oldfather. 12 Vols. Vols. I.–IV. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*)
DIOGENES LAERTIUS. R. D. Hicks. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *3rd Imp.*, Vol. II. *2nd Imp.*)
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS: ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. Spelman's translation revised by E. Cary. 7 Vols. Vols. I.–V. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*)
EPICTETUS. W. A. Oldfather. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*)
EURIPIDES. A. S. Way. 4 Vols. (Vols. I., II. and IV. *6th Imp.*, Vol. III. *5th Imp.*) Verse trans.
EUSEBIUS: ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. Kirsopp Lake and J. E. L. Oulton. 2 Vols. (Vol. II. *3rd Imp.*)
GALEN: ON THE NATURAL FACULTIES. A. J. Brock. (*3rd Imp.*)
THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY. W. R. Paton. 5 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. *4th Imp.*, Vols. III. and IV. *2nd Imp.*)
GREEK ELEGY AND IAMBUS WITH THE ANACREONTEA. J. M. Edmonds. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*)
THE GREEK BUCOLIC POETS (THEOCRITUS, BION, MOSCHUS). J. M. Edmonds. (*6th Imp. revised.*)
GREEK MATHEMATICAL WORKS. Ivor Thomas. 2 Vols.
HERODES. Cf. THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS.

HERODOTUS. A. D. Godley. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. *4th Imp.*, Vols. II.–IV. *3rd Imp.*)
HESIOD AND THE HOMERIC HYMNS. H. G. Evelyn White. (*6th Imp. revised and enlarged.*)
HIPPOCRATES AND THE FRAGMENTS OF HERACLEITUS. W. H. S. Jones and E. T. Withington. 4 Vols. (Vols. I., II. and IV. *2nd Imp.*, Vol. III. *3rd Imp.*)
HOMER: ILIAD. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols. (*5th Imp.*)
HOMER: ODYSSEY. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols. (*7th Imp.*)
ISAEUS. E. W. Forster. (*2nd Imp.*)
ISOCRATES. George Norlin. 3 Vols.
ST. JOHN DAMASCENE: BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. Rev. G. R. Woodward and Harold Mattingly. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)
JOSEPHUS. H. St. J. Thackeray and Ralph Marcus. 9 Vols. Vols. I.–VII. (Vol. V. *2nd Imp.*)
JULIAN. Wilmer Cave Wright. 3 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. *2nd Imp.*)
LUCIAN. A. M. Harmon. 8 Vols. Vols. I.–V. (Vols. I. and II. *3rd Imp.*)
LYCOPHRON. Cf. CALLIMACHUS.
LYRA GRAECA. J. M. Edmonds. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. and III. *3rd Imp.*, Vol. II. *2nd Ed. revised and enlarged.*
LYSIAS. W. R. M. Lamb. (*2nd Imp.*)
MANETHO. W. G. Waddell: PTOLEMY: TETRABIBLOS. F. E. Robbins. (*2nd Imp.*)
MARCUS AURELIUS. C. R. Haines. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)
MENANDER. F. G. Allinson. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)
MINOR ATTIC ORATORS (ANTIPHON, ANDOCIDES, DEMADES, DEINARCHUS, HYPEREIDES). K. J. Maidment and J. O. Burtt. 2 Vols. Vol. I. K. J. Maidment.
NONNOS. W. H. D. Rouse. 3 Vols. (Vol. III. *2nd Imp.*)
OPPIAN, COLLUTHUS, TRYPHIODORUS. A. W. Mair.
PAPYRI. NON-LITERARY SELECTIONS. A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. 2 Vols. LITERARY SELECTIONS. Vol. I. (Poetry). D. L. Page. (*2nd Imp.*)
PARTHENIUS. Cf. DAPHNIS AND CHLOE.
PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE. W. H. S. Jones. 5 Vols. and Companion Vol. (Vols. I. and III. *2nd Imp.*)
PHILO. 10 Vols. Vols. I.–V.; F. H. Colson and Rev. G. H. Whitaker. Vols. VI.–IX.; F. H. Colson. (Vol. IV. *2nd Imp.*)
PHILOSTRATUS: THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA. F. C. Conybeare. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *3rd Imp.*, Vol. II. *2nd Imp.*)
PHILOSTRATUS: IMAGINES; CALLISTRATUS: DESCRIPTIONS. A. Fairbanks.
PHILOSTRATUS AND EUNAPIUS: LIVES OF THE SOPHISTS. Wilmer Cave Wright.
PINDAR. Sir J. E. Sandys. (*7th Imp. revised.*)

PLATO: CHARMIDES, ALCIBIADES, HIPPARCHUS, THE LOVERS, THEAGES, MINOS AND EPINOMIS. W. R. M. Lamb.
PLATO: CRATYLUS, PARMENIDES, GREATER HIPPIAS, LESSER HIPPIAS. H. N. Fowler. (*3rd Imp.*)
PLATO: EUTHYPHRO, APOLOGY, CRITO, PHAEDO, PHAEDRUS. H. N. Fowler. (*9th Imp.*)
PLATO: LACHES, PROTAGORAS, MENO, EUTHYDEMUS. W. R. M. Lamb. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)
PLATO: LAWS. Rev. R. G. Bury. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
PLATO: LYSIS, SYMPOSIUM, GORGIAS. W. R. M. Lamb. (*4th Imp. revised.*)
PLATO: REPUBLIC. Paul Shorey. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *4th Imp.*, Vol. II. *3rd Imp.*)
PLATO: STATESMAN, PHILEBUS. H. N. Fowler; ION. W. R. M. Lamb. (*3rd Imp.*)
PLATO: THEAETETUS AND SOPHIST. H. N. Fowler. (*3rd Imp.*)
PLATO: TIMAEUS, CRITIAS, CLITOPHO, MENEXENUS, EPISTULAE. Rev. R. G. Bury. (*2nd Imp.*)
PLUTARCH: MORALIA. 14 Vols. Vols. I.–V. F. C. Babbitt; Vol. VI. W. C. Helmbold; Vol. X. H. N. Fowler
PLUTARCH: THE PARALLEL LIVES. B. Perrin. 11 Vols. (Vols. I., II., III., VI., VII., and XI. *2nd Imp.*)
POLYBIUS. W. R. Paton. 6 Vols.
PROCOPIUS: HISTORY OF THE WARS. H. B. Dewing. 7 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*)
PTOLEMY: TETRABIBLOS. Cf. MANETHO.
QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS. A. S. Way. Verse trans. (*2nd Imp.*)
SEXTUS EMPIRICUS. Rev. R. G. Bury. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*)
SOPHOCLES. F. Storr. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *8th Imp.*, Vol. II. *5th Imp.*) Verse trans.
STRABO: GEOGRAPHY. Horace L. Jones. 8 Vols. (Vols. I., V. and VIII. *2nd Imp.*)
THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS. J. M. Edmonds; HERODES, etc. A. D. Knox. (*2nd Imp.*)
THEOPHRASTUS: ENQUIRY INTO PLANTS. Sir Arthur Hort, Bart. 2 Vols.
THUCYDIDES. C. F. Smith. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. *3rd Imp.*, Vols. II., III. and IV. *2nd Imp. revised.*)
TRYPHIODORUS. Cf. OPPIAN.
XENOPHON: CYROPAEDIA. Walter Miller. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*, Vol. II. *3rd Imp.*)
XENOPHON: HELLENICA, ANABASIS, APOLOGY, AND SYMPOSIUM. C. L. Brownson and O. J. Todd. 3 Vols. (*3rd Imp.*)
XENOPHON: MEMORABILIA AND OECONOMICUS. E. C. Marchant. (*2nd Imp.*)
XENOPHON: SCRIPTA MINORA. E. C. Marchant. (*2nd Imp.*)

IN PREPARATION

Greek Authors

ALCIPHRON. A. R. Benner and F. Fobes.
ARISTOTLE: DE MUNDO. W. K. C. Guthrie.
ARISTOTLE: HISTORY OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck.
ARISTOTLE: METEOROLOGICA. H. P. Lee.
DEMOSTHENES: EPISTLES, etc. N. W. and N. J. De Witt.
PLOTINUS.

Latin Authors

ST. AUGUSTINE: CITY OF GOD. W. H. Semple.
[CICERO]: AD HERENNIUM. H. Caplan.
CICERO: DE INVENTIONE, etc. H. M. Hubbell.
CICERO: PRO SESTIO, IN VATINIUM, PRO CAELIO, DE PROVINCIIS CONSULARIBUS, PRO BALBO. J. H. Freese and R. Gardner.
PHAEDRUS AND OTHER FABULISTS. B. E. Perry.
PRUDENTIUS. J. H. Thomson.

DESCRIPTIVE PROSPECTUS ON APPLICATION

London **WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD**
Cambridge, Mass. **HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS**